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THE MALOLOS CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION

Nicolás Zafra

A chronological resumé of the adoption of the Malolos Constitution is given in this article by Mr. Zafra, former professor of history at the state university and incumbent President of the Philippine Historical Association. The article formed part of a paper the author read at the general meeting of the Philippine Constitution Association held January 25, 1962, at the Mabini Shrine, Manila.

The Philippine Revolution, understanding by that term the struggle waged by the Filipinos in the closing years of the nineteenth century for independence from Spanish rule, passed through two distinct stages. The first covered the period from the outbreak of the Katipunan revolt in the latter part of August, 1896, to the cessation of hostilities following the conclusion of the Pact of Biac-na-bato on December 14, 1897. The second stage lasted from the resumption of the war against Spain shortly after the return of Aguinaldo from Hongkong on May 19, 1898, to the outbreak of the Filipino-American conflict early in February, 1899.

The period covered by the second stage was of short duration lasting less than one year. Nevertheless, this period witnessed some of the most momentous events in the political history of the Philippines. It was during this period that Dewey's naval force, on May 1, 1898, destroyed the Spanish navy in battle in Manila Bay, thereby dealing a mortal blow to Spanish colonial power in the Philippines. This event was followed three months later, August 13, 1898, by the occupation of Manila by American troops. That event marked the virtual termination of the more than three hundred years of Spanish rule over the Philippines. In this period, too, the Filipino people had their first experience of political independence and had occasion to show, through their actuations as a free and independent nation, their capacity to manage their national affairs.

It is generally admitted that, of the events and developments of this period of the Revolution, one of the most memorable was the coming into being on September 15, 1898, of the Malolos Congress.[1] The Congress was the third of the representative assemblies which in the course of the Revolution arose to assume a vital role in the affairs of the Filipino people. The first of these was the assembly of Katipunan leaders which met at Tejeros, San Francisco de Malabon, Cavite, on March 22, 1897. The Tejeros Convention, as that assembly is historically known, set up a revolutionary government, with Emilio Aguinaldo as president, to lead and direct the revolutionary movement against the Spanish forces in the Philippines. The second came into being on November 1, 1897, at Biac-na-bato. That assembly was made up of leaders of the Revolution who were in Biac-na-bato at the time. Its avowed purpose was to modify the constitutional basis of the revolutionary government which had been established at Tejeros on March 22, 1897. Its main accomplishment was the adoption of what is historically known as the "Constitution of Biac-na-bato." The latter created, as governing body of the Philippines, "a Supreme Council, composed of a President, a Vice-President and four Secretaries."[2]

On May 24, 1898, a few days after his arrival from Hongkong, Aguinaldo set up a government to direct the course of the revolution against Spain which in the meantime had started anew. The government was dictatorial in form. The conduct of affairs was to be by decrees set forth under Aguinaldo's sole responsibility. A dictatorship was deemed best suited to the wartime conditions then prevailing in the Philippines. Such a type of government, however, was not intended to continue indefinitely. It was to last only, in the words of Aguinaldo's proclamation, "until the time when these Islands, being under our complete control, may form a constitutional republican assembly and appoint a president and cabinet, into whose hands I shall then resign the command of these islands."[3]

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[1] Many excellent studies have been made on the Malolos Congress by Filipino scholars. Among these are: Jorge Bocobo, "Felipe G. Calderon and his Great Work," in *The Filipino People,* September, 1914; Rafael Palma, "Apolinario Mabini — Estudio Biografico," in A. Mabini, *La Revolucion Filipina* (Manila, 1931), vol. I; Teodoro M. Kalaw, "Felipe Calderon," in *Philippine Review,* June, July, October, 1919; Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics.* (Manila, 1926), Chapter VI; Leandro H. Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic.* (New York, 1926), Chapter III.

A later study is that by José López del Castillo, formerly Chief of the Division of Bibliography and Historical Investigation of the National Library. Written in Spanish, it appeared in a series of articles in *Nueva Era* during the years, 1948-1950, under the title, *"Malolos y Sus Prohombres."*

Recent studies on the Malolos Congress are: Teodoro A. Agoncillo's, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic,* Q.C., 1960, Chapter 8, and Cesar Adib Majul's *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution,* Q.C., 1960, Chapters 6 & 7.

[2] The full text of the Constitution including the names of the signers of the Constitution is in Kalaw, Maximo M. *op. cit.,* "Appendix B."

The government, however, did not wait for the contingency mentioned in Aguinaldo's proclamation, namely, bringing "these Islands under our complete control," before it took steps leading to the eventual formation of the "constitutional republican assembly" envisioned in that proclamation. For it was felt that the interests of the country and the exigencies of the times demanded that such steps be promptly taken. On June 18, 1898, therefore, upon the advice and recommendation of Apolinario Mabini, who in the meantime, had joined Aguinaldo's government and had become Aguinaldo's trusted political adviser, the government issued a decree establishing municipal and provincial governments in towns and provinces which had come under the control of the Philippine revolutionary government. The decree provided not only for the organization of municipal and provincial governments, but also for the election of delegates to a national congress.[4]

A few days later, June 23, another decree, drafted, like that of June 18, by Mabini, was promulgated by Aguinaldo. This decree transformed the Dictatorship into a constitutional government to be known as "Revolutionary Government." The decree made adequate provisions for the conduct of national affairs. It created four Departments—Foreign Affairs, Marine and Commerce; War and Public Works; Police, Interior, Justice, Instruction and Health; and Finance, Agriculture and Industry. It defined the Government's objectives to be: (1) to carry on the campaign for liberation until the free nations of the world including Spain recognized the independence of the Philippines; and (2) to prepare the country for the implantation therein of a truly republican regime.

As regards the National Congress, the decree made specific provisions. The latter was to be composed of members elected by voters in accordance with the provisions of the decree of June 18. The Government, however, was empowered to appoint "provisional representatives" in those provinces where, because of war conditions, elections could not be held. Such representatives were to be selected from among "persons most noted for their education and social position who were natives of, or for a long time residents in, those provinces." Congress was empowered to provide for the general welfare, enact laws, approve treaties and loans, examine and approve the general expenses of the government as presented by the Secretary of Finance, as well as all extraordinary contributions that the government might see fit to impose.[5]

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[3] Full text of the proclamation is in Taylor, *Philippine Insurgent Records*. Quotation is from Fernandez, *op. cit.*

[4] Text of this decree is in Mabini, A., *La Revolucion Filipina*. Vol. I, p. 169.

The Revolutionary Government achieved marked success in its efforts to extend its authority and control over the Philippines. At the time of the capitulation of Manila on August 13, 1898, it had established itself in power in eight provinces of Central Luzon, with officials of its own choosing exercising authority in these provinces as provincial governors. These provinces were: Manila, outside of the areas occupied by American forces, with Ambrosio Flores as governor; Cavite, except the port which was under American control, with Ladislao Diwa as governor; Bulacan, under the governorship of Segundo Rodrigo; Batangas, under the governorship of Manuel Genato; Laguna, under Escolastico Salandanan; Pampanga, under Tiburcio Hilario; Nueva Ecija, under Felino Cajucom; and Bataan, under Pedro de Leon.[6]

Elsewhere, the Revolutionary Government was equally successful in its efforts to establish its power and authority. Units of the armed forces of the Government, led by Manuel Tinio, occupied the Ilocos provinces. Another force, under Daniel Tirona, brought the entire Cagayan Valley under the authority of the Government. Farther up the headwaters of the Cagayan River, another revolutionary force, under Delfin Esquivel, occupied Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya. Some time later, Vicente Lukban brought the Bicol provinces under the authority of the Revolutionary Government.[7]

On August 12, 1898, a peace protocol was concluded in Washington which ended hostilities between the United States and Spain. One of the articles of the protocol provided that American forces were to occupy and hold the city and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of peace which was to determine "the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

News of this event aroused, as was to be expected, deep apprehension among the leaders of the Revolution. The latter understood readily enough the significance and implications of that event. There was the possibility that, in the conference which was going to decide the future political status of the Philippines, the interests of the Filipinos might be completely ignored. In such a contingency there was grave danger that the Filipinos might lose their cherished national ideal and aspiration—the independence of the Philippines.

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[5] *Ibid.* The provisions of the June 23 decree relating to Congress are in Chapter II of the decree.

[6] Calderon, *Mis Memorias Sobre la Revolucion Filipina*, Manila, Imp. de "El Renacimiento," 1907.

[7] Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

Philippine independence was the supreme purpose and objective of the Philippine Revolution. It had been proclaimed at Kawit, Cavite, on June 12, 1898. The independence proclamation was ratified in a meeting of local officials held in Bacoor, Cavite, on August 1, 1898. In that meeting, a resolution was adopted calling upon the President of the Philippines to take steps to secure from foreign powers their recognition of the independence of the Philippines. Complying with that resolution, the Revolutionary Government on August 6, 1898, sent diplomatic notes to foreign nations requesting them to accord formal recognition to the Philippines as a free and independent nation.

At about the same time, the Revolutionary Government appointed Felipe Agoncillo, a well known lawyer from Batangas province, then living in Hongkong, as diplomatic representative of the Philippines abroad. Agoncillo was instructed to proceed to Washington and later to Paris where the peace conference between the United States and Spain was scheduled to meet beginning October 10, 1898.

Uncertain as to what the peace conference would decide regarding the future of the Philippines, the Revolutionary Government proceeded to strengthen its claim for the recognition of Philippine independence by convening a national congress. In two decrees, one promulgated at Bacoor, Cavite, on September 4, 1898, and the other issued from Malolos, Bulacan, on September 10, 1898, Aguinaldo announced the appointment of persons as "provincial representatives" and called upon these persons, together with those duly elected by voters in the provinces already occupied by the Revolutionary Government, to assemble at Malolos, Bulacan, on September 15, 1898.[8]

The body which came into being by virtue of the aforementioned decrees was the one which is historically referred to as the "Malolos Congress." The latter held its inaugural session on the designated date, September 15, 1898, in the church of Barasoain, Malolos. Fifty delegates were present on that historic occasion.[9] Included among them were outstanding representatives of that period of the culture and intelligentsia of the nation. Pablo Rianzares Bautista, one time political adviser of Aguinaldo, was in that honored group. He served as temporary chairman of the Congress. Pedro A. Paterno, the negotiator of the Pact of Biac-na-bato, was also there. He was chosen permanent chairman of the Congress. Other prominent members were Felipe G. Calderon, Pablo Ocampo, Benito Legarda, Gregorio Araneta, Joaquin Gonzales, Arsenio Cruz Herrera, Tomás G. del Rosario, Arcadio del Rosario, Alberto Barretto, Perfecto Gabriel, Pablo Tecson, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Leon Ma. Guerrero, Antonio Luna, Aguedo Velarde, José Alejandrino and Ignacio Villamor.

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[8] Calderon, Felipe G., *op. cit.*, Appendix. The names of the delegates listed in the two decrees are given therein.

[9] Fernandez, *op. cit.*

The first important act of the Congress was the ratification of the declaration of independence of the Philippines. On September 29, 1898, Congress formally ratified the action taken by the assembly of local officials in Bacoor, Cavite, on August 1, 1898, declaring the Philippines a free and independent state. In the course of the deliberation on the ratification measure, Pedro A. Paterno, Chairman of the Congress, delivered an impassioned address which thrilled and electrified, with its eloquence, the members of the Congress. According to Calderon, at the termination of his speech, Paterno received a prolonged ovation. Many of his colleagues, moved by a spontaneous desire to express their gratification and admiration, went to him and embraced him enthusiastically.[10]

But the work for which the Malolos Congress is best known was the framing of the Malolos Constitution.

Many prominent men in and out of Congress assumed that the framing of a new constitution for the Philippines was the task of major importance and urgency that lay before Congress. In their view that was, as a matter of fact, the main purpose for which Congress was convened.

There were others, however, who did not share that view. Foremost among them was Apolinario Mabini, Aguinaldo's adviser and counselor. Mabini held that Congress had no authority to adopt a constitution since it was not a constituent assembly. Neither did it possess legislative powers, he went on to say, since under the organic law of the Revolutionary Government Congress was merely a consultative body whose main duty was to propose ways and means for the carrying out of the activities of the Revolutionary Government and to raise funds for the maintenance of those activities. Mabini further maintained that it was inadvisable to frame a constitution at that time inasmuch as Philippine independence had not yet been recognized officially. The Philippines with a constitution proclaiming its independence would, he argued, be restrained from concluding any agreement except on the basis of the recognition of its independence, for, otherwise, it would violate its fundamental law. In the situation then existing, Mabini believed, it was advisable that the Government should retain certain freedom of action to negotiate an agrement with the United States which could save the country from the horrors of war and at the same time protect the rights and interests of the people.[11]

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[10] *Op. cit.*

A majority of the members of Congress were not inclined to accept the views of Mabini. Calderon was the spokesman of that group. Calderon pointed out that there was urgent need for the Philippines to adopt a constitution of its own in view of the proximity of the date of meeting of the American and Spanish Commissioners. A Philippines duly constituted as a sovereign state would be in a strong position to press its claim for recognition. It could present as a powerful argument in support of its plea for the recognition of its independence, the fact that, within such a short time, it had succeeded in organizing itself into a state, with a constitution duly adopted and laws regulating its internal affairs.[12]

The existence of two diametrically opposed views on such a matter of vital importance as the framing of a constitution for the country posed, as could well be imagined, a difficult problem for Aguinaldo. He had to choose between two courses of action: first, that pointed out for him by Mabini, his trusted counselor, and, second, that favored by the majority of the members of Congress. Aguinaldo chose to abide by the latter's wishes. It was a difficult choice for him to make. But it revealed an admirable trait in Aguinaldo—his high regard and respect for Congress as the authoritative spokesman for the Filipino people and the true interpreter of their desires and aspirations.

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[11] From the time that he took over the functions of political adviser of Aguinaldo, Mabini was actually the Government's Secretary of Foreign Affairs. It was he who traced the Government's course in matters of foreign policy. He drafted the diplomatic notes of August 6, 1898, asking foreign nations to accord formal recognition to the Philippines as an independent state. He wrote Aguinaldo's decree of August 24, 1896, creating a Revolutionary Committee abroad. He had Felipe Agoncillo appointed as the Philippines diplomatic representative abroad. He outlined the basic diplomatic policies of the Government. He drafted Aguinaldo's communications to General Otis on the question of the Spanish prisoners of war.

On January 2, 1899, Mabini was formally inducted as President of the Council of Ministers and concurrently Secretary of Foreign Affairs. In his capacity as such, he drafted Aguinaldo's formal protest (Jan. 5, 1899) against Gen. Otis' assumption of powers as U.S. Military Governor. He wrote Aguinaldo's Jan. 8, 1899 manifesto explaining the events and circumstances leading to the deterioration of amicable relations between the Philippine Government and the U.S. Armed Forces.

It is worth noting in this connection that, under the Provisional Constitution of Biac-na-bato (adopted Nov. 1, 1897), the Philippine Government had a Department of Foreign Affairs and that Antonio Montenegro was appointed to that office. The Government, however, had only an ephemeral existence. It was virtually disbanded following General Aguinaldo's departure with several comrades of his for Hongkong under the terms of the Pact of Biac-na-bato. There was no occasion for Montegro to deal with diplomatic questions. In fact, at that particular stage of the Revolution, the Philippines did not concern itself with diplomatic problems.

It is worth noting, too, that Cayetano Arellano was appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs on September 26, 1898, with T. H. Pardo de Tavera as Director of Diplomacy. It is a fact, however, that both Arellano and Pardo de Tavera resigned from their respective posts shortly thereafter.

It can well be said, therefore, that Apolinario Mabini fully deserves to be honored and distinguished as the first Filipino secretary of foreign affairs.

A. Mabini, *op. cit.,* pp. 50, 210, 212, 216, 220, 224, 239, 248.

Aguinaldo made known his decision in the message which he read in the inaugural session of the Congress. In that message he expressed his hope that Congress would see fit to write "the immortal book of the 'Constitution of the Philippines' as the supreme expression of the Nation's will.[13]

Following the formal organization of Congress with the election of Pedro A. Paterno as president, Benito Legarda as vice-president, and Gregorio Araneta and Pablo Ocampo as secretaries, Congress proceeded to the task of preparing a constitution for the Philippines. A Committee of nineteen members was created to draft a constitution. Outstanding members of Congress were named to that committee among whom were Joaquin Gonzales, Gregorio Araneta, Pablo Ocampo, Aguedo Velarde, Tomás G. del Rosario, Alberto Barretto, Antonio Luna, Felipe Calderon, Arsenio Cruz Herrera and Felipe Buencamino.[14]

To Felipe Calderon, the Committee entrusted the task of preparing a draft of a constitution for the Philippines. Calderon proceeded at once and in earnest to perform the task assigned to him. The story of how he went about this task is told by him in his *Memorias Sobre la Revolucion Filipina* as follows:

> Mabini had written a proposed constitution based on the Constitution of the Spanish Republic with slight variations, and, after studying it, I became convinced that it was not suitable to our country. Pedro Paterno, on his part, had given me a constitutional draft of his own which was patterned much after the Spanish Constitution of 1868. Paterno's draft, like Mabini's, proved unsatisfactory to me... I, therefore, decided to write one that would be eclectic... I spent a few days studying the constitutions of other countries... Using as a basis... the constitution of the South American republics... particularly that of Costa Rica, I prepared my own draft... One day, in the drugstore of Juan Cuadra, in Ermita, I wrote down the draft of the constitution, or rather had a clean copy made of the draft by three scriveners, who were Don Mariano Icasiano, Don Hugo Aunario, and another whose name I can not now recall.
>
> Submitted to the committee, the draft was approved with slight changes; but we encountered opposition from Mabini's

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[12] Calderon, *op. cit.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*

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> partisans who wanted Mabini's own plan to be adopted... The draft having been approved by the committee, copies thereof were printed and distributed among the delegates. Thereafter it was submitted to Congress where it was taken up in debate, from the closing days of October until November when it was approved by Congress.[15]

The proposed constitution which the Committee submitted to Congress had several distinctive features. One of these was its provision for a unicameral legislature. Calderon had his own reasons for proposing a single-house legislature. He explained, in the first place, that there were no distinct interests in the Philippines which demanded representation in the legislature. Secondly, in the formative stage in which the country found itself, a legislature of two houses could cause unnecessary delay in the enactment of urgently needed legislation.

But the most significant feature of the proposed constitution was the dominant position which the National Assembly occupied in the government. The assembly was, in the words of Calderon, "the omnipotent power in the entire nation." It was the embodiment of popular sovereignty. As such, it assumed the supreme prerogative of the people, namely the power of legislation. But apart from its purely legislative functions, it possessed executive and judicial powers. These powers, Calderon explained, were clearly defined in order to preserve the integrity and independence of the Executive and the Judiciary in consonance with Montesquieu's doctrine of the separation of powers.

Moreover, the National Assembly assumed powers of scrutiny and supervision over the affairs of government. To insure the continuity of this scrutinizing and supervisory power, a Permanent Committee of Congress was created to perform the functions of Congress while that body was not in session, with full power to act in cases of emergency.[16]

What impelled Calderon to give to the National Assembly its dominant position in the government was explained by Calderon himself in these words:

> Being fully convinced that upon attaining our independence we shall have for a long time a veritable oligarchy in which the military element would predominate, I wanted to see that oligarchy neutralized.

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Loc. cit.* Calderon says that the idea of a Permanent Committee of Congress was adopted from the Constitution of Costa Rica. The source of that institution may be traced to the Spanish Constitution of 1812. A summary of the provisions of that Constitution is given by Jose O. Rubio, *Historia de España.* Vol. V. p. 272, ff.

Calderon's ideas found ready acceptance and strong support among the members of the Malolos Congress. Congress approved without much difficulty the provisions of the Constitution relating to the National Assembly and the Executive in the form in which they were presented by Calderon.

The readiness with which Congress approved Calderon's plan of government was quite understandable. It bespoke the Filipino sentiment prevailing at the time in regard to the Spanish colonial system. The members of Congress knew well enough from personal experience and from their knowledge of Philippine history that the Spanish colonial administrative system was oppressive and tyrannical. They were fully aware of the fact that, under that system with a governor and captain general endowed with broad discretionary powers, the rights and interests of the people were not adequately protected. It is not surprising, therefore, that they chose to adopt the scheme of government proposed by Calderon. Their preference for a pattern of government dominated, not by a powerful executive, but by a Congress made up of representatives of the Nation was a natural reaction on their part to the administrative system which Spain established in the Philippines.

The constitutional project was taken up for general discussion on October 25th. Being the author of the proposed measure, Calderon had to bear the major part of the burden of defending it and explaining its provisions and peculiar features on the floor of Congress. That responsibility he discharged creditably and well. In the debates which followed, of which detailed reports appeared in the newspapers published at the time—*La Republica Filipina,* and *El Heraldo de la Revolucion*—he distinguished himself by his eloquence, his learning, and his forceful logic.

In the session held on October 28th, Congress, by a vote of 37 against 7, approved in principle the constitutional project. Immediately thereafter, Congress began the consideration of the same project, this time article by article. In sessions held between October 28 and November 29, it devoted itself almost exclusively to this task.

With one notable exception, the provisions of the constitutional project were approved without much difficulty and, substantially, in the form in which they were submitted. The one exception was that relating to the subject of religion.

The articles in the proposed constitution on this subject set forth three basic principles. The first declared the Catholic religion as the official religion of the Philippines. As such, its ministers were entitled to financial support from the government. The second permitted other forms of worship as long as they were not contrary to morals and good usage or endangered public security. The third principle declared that appointments to positions in the public service as well as the enjoyment of civil and political rights should not depend upon the religious affiliation of the persons concerned.[17]

These principles were not in their entirely acceptable to all the members of the committee that drafted the Constitution. Tomás del Rosario for one was not agreeable to the basic idea contained in those principles. In fact he made it known that he was going to prepare an amendment which he intended to submit in substitution to the provisions agreed upon by a majority of the Committee. The text of his proposed amendment read as follows:

> The state recognizes the liberty and equaliy of all forms of worship, as well as the separation of Church and State.

The religious question was taken up for consideration on November 22. Tomás del Rosario and Arcadio del Rosario took turns in pleading for religious freedom and for the principle of the separation of Church and State. They stressed the point that the interests and welfare of the country demanded that there be complete separation of Church and State. True religious freedom, they explained, implied that the government should not favor any form of religion and that the Church should not depend for support upon the State.

Leading supporters of the original proposition were Manuel Gómez and Felipe Calderon. Gómez spoke on the importance of religion in the life of a nation and advised that the Philippines should adopt the Catholic religion as its official religion, that being the religion in which many Filipinos were born.

Calderon, in his remarks, argued that to establish the principle of separation of Church and State was, in the critical stage through which the Filipinos were passing, undesirable and prejudicial to the interests and welfare of the country. For one thing, he explained, it was offensive to the religious sensibilities of the great portion of the Filipino people. The great need of the time he went on to say, was national unity, but the proposed amendment would create divisions among the people. They would alienate the goodwill of the native priesthood which was an influential element in the Nation.

In the session of November 29, Congress voted on the question. The result was a tie, 25 members voting for the original proposal and 25 for the amendment submitted by del Rosario. Pedro A.

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[17] Title 3, Article 5, 6, 7 of the constitutional project.

Paterno as Chairman of Congress had the rare privilege and opportunity to decide by his vote the great issue. But he chose to remain neutral. He refrained from casting the vote that would have broken the deadlock. Another voting, therefore, had to be taken. This time Pablo Tecson, who had refrained from voting in the first balloting, voted in favor of the amendment. By a vote of 26 against 25, therefore, Congress approved the constitutional principle recognizing religious freedom and the separation of Church and State.[18] That principle was incorporated in Article V, Title 3 of the Constitution, the text of which read as follows:

> The state recognizes the freedom and equality of all cults, as well as the separation of the Church and the State.

With the solution of the religious question, the main task of Congress was brought to a close. Congress then transmitted the Constitution to Aguinaldo with the recommendation that it be officially promulgated.

Mabini, who from the beginning was opposed to the adoption of a constitution pending the recognition of Philippine independence, advised Aguinaldo to withhold the official promulgation of the Constitution. He advanced two reasons for his action. In the first place, the constitutional guaranties of individual freedom could not be maintained since the urgent need of the times was precisely the predominance of the armed forces of the country. Secondly, it was not advisable to establish completely the principle of separation of Church and State as such a move would alienate the Catholic elements of the nation. Furthermore, Mabini explained, the interests of the Nation required that the hand of the Executive be strengthened. The country was faced with grave perils. It was important that the Executive be clothed with the powers he needed to give him the strength and the energy to meet contingencies and unforseen developments.

Following the advice of Mabini, Aguinaldo on January 1, 1899, sent a message drafted by Mabini to Congress recommending the adoption of certain changes or amendments to the Constitution. One proposal would give the President a certain measure of legislative power by authorizing him to promulgate decrees while Congress was not in session. Another sought to emasculate the Permanent Commission by taking away from it important powers and prerogatives. A third authorized the arrest of members of Congress who were caught *in fraganti* committing acts against the security of the State, without previous authorization of Congress. Another sought to strengthen the President's control over legislation by expanding his veto power. Still another would empower the President to dissolve the Congress without the formality of the latter's consent.

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[18] Calderon, *op. cit.*

Congress was not disposed to accept the proposed changes. Calderon and his colleagues were firm in their opposition to Mabini's attempts to strengthen the arm of the Executive at the expense of the powers and prerogatives of Congress. They took their stand on the proposition that Congress, not the Executive, was the true representative of the people.

Interestingly enough, the only proposal which received ready acceptance and approval on the part of Congress was that relating to the religious issue, more specifically the establishment of the principle of religious freedom and the separation of Church and State.

The proposed change was incorporated as article 100 of the Constitution. The text of the article reads as follows:

> The execution of Article 5, Title 3, is hereby suspended until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. In the meantime, the municipalities or places which may require the spiritual offices of a Filipino priest shall provide for his maintenance.

The new provision represented a happy compromise between the two rival ideologies that clashed in Congress in the course of the debates over the religious issue. The first of these was embodied in the proposed amendment by substitution which del Rosario submitted to Congress and which the latter approved on November 29. The other was that championed by Felipe G. Calderon. It was an expression of the sentiments of the Catholic elements of the Nation. Their representatives in the Malolos Congress, and they constituted a sizeable group according to Calderon, wanted to preserve the status of the Catholic religion in the belief that Catholicism was of vital importance in the social, cultural and spiritual life of the Filipino people.

As embodied in Article 100 of the Constitution, the compromise formula represented a statesmanlike settlement of the religious issue. It impliedly established as a fundamental doctrine of the Constitution the principle of fredom of worship. This principle reflected the liberal spirit and tendencies of the Filipino reform movement. Its implantation in the Philippines was a major goal and aspiration of the leaders of the nationalistic campaign and of the Revolution.

Ambeth Ocampo

At the same time the new provision recognized the justice of the contention of Calderon and many other members of the Malolos Congress that the State should, in the Nation's interest, give financial aid to Filipino priests who were called upon to attend to the religious and spiritual needs of the people.

The settlement of the religious issue in the manner above described speaks well of the good sense and statesmanship of the members of the Malolos Congress. Well could José López del Castillo say that the members of the Malolos Congress were men of "political maturity" endowed with a strong sense of responsibility.[19]

On January 20, 1899, the Constitution was definitely adopted. The Executive and the Congress on that day reached a satisfactory agreement on all pending issues. The way was thus cleared for the official proclamation of the Constitution. On January 21, 1899, Aguinaldo issued a decree promulgating the newly approved document. He called upon his countrymen to safeguard and obey the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land, the expression of "the sovereign will of the Filipino People." Two days later, January 23, 1899, the Philippine Republic with Aguinaldo as President, was inaugurated at Malolos. The Malolos Congress thenceforth came to be known as "National Assembly," the title assigned to it by the Constitution.

The Philippine Republic did not live long. Within a few days after its inauguration, it had to deal with the problem of survival. On February 5, hostilities broke out between Filipino and American troops around Manila. The Republic was faced by the grim reality of war. Hard pressed by superior forces, the government evacuated Malolos and began its long odyssey, moving northward from one capital to another, finally going into hiding in the mountain fastnesses of northern Luzon.

The Malolos Constitution was not vouchsafed the time or the opportunity to show its real worth. Undoubtedly, it had its deficiencies and imperfections. Whatever its defects, however, it had one thing for which its framers could well be proud, namely its democratic spirit and ideal. It proclaimed as a basic principle of government the doctrine that sovereignty resides exclusively in the people.

The Malolos Constitution faithfully reflected the ideals and aspirations of the Philippine Revolution. It is interesting to note that many of the political ideas and principles of government that it contained have found their way into the present Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines. This fact was noted by a distinguished American scholar, the late Dr. Joseph R. Hayden. Commenting on the Malolos Constitution, Prof. Hayden wrote:[20]

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[19] *Malolos y Sus Prohombres.*

> This organic law (the Malolos Constitution) was a free expression of the type of state to which the articulate Filipinos aspired at the end of the Spanish regime. This state was democratic and liberal and was pledged to a careful regard for the protection and development of the masses of its citizens. In these important matters there is a remarkable consistency between the Malolos Constitution and the organic law of the Philippines adopted in Manila thirty-six years later.

It was with good reason, therefore, that President Aguinaldo could say that the Malolos Constitution was "the most glorious expression of the noble aspirations of the Filipino people, a mirror of their culture and a clear proof before the world of their capacity to govern themselves."[21]

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[20] *The Philippines — A Study in National Development.* N.Y., 1955. p. 32.
[21] Message to Congress, in Mabini, *op. cit.*

PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY: A LIBERAL CONCEPT

Romeo V. Cruz

When did Filipino nationalism actually begin? The author, a professor at the University of the Philippines, clearly delineates the various strata in Philippine society during the closing years of the Spanish regime, and criticizes the attempt to depict the Philippine Revolution as a "class war."

Nationalism has been an historical phenomenon in our country for eighty or more years now. It has been known in various words, from the simple but emotional "Filipinism," to attractive catchwords like "Positive Nationalism," "True Nationalism," etc. Slogans like "The Philippines for the Filipinos," "Filipino First," "Faith in the Filipinos," have been utilized to convey its meanings too.

Adding probably to the already confused meaning of nationalism is the tendency of some scholars and students to confound patriotism with nationalism and vice versa. To do this is to err not only linguistically but also operationally. Louis Snyder said:

> Nationalism is primarily concerned with the independence and unity of the nation, whereas patriotism is more specifically the passions that influence the individual to serve the object of his devotion—his country . . . x x x Nationalism is inseparable from the idea of power, patriotism on the other hand, is by nature defensive, both culturally and militarily.[1]

Karl W. Deutsch, who introduced a new approach in the study of nationalism, also distinguishes patriotism from nationalism:

> Strictly speaking, patriotism is an effort or readiness to promote the interests of all the persons born or living within the same *patria,* i.e., country, whereas nationalism aims at promoting the interests of all those of the same *nation,* i.e., literally a group of common descent and upbringing, or rather, as we have seen, of common culture, that is to say of complementary habits of communication.[2]

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[1] *The Meaning of Nationalism.* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1954), p. 148.

[2] Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry Into the Foundations of Nationality.* (New York, Technology Press of M.I.T. and John Wiley and Sons, 1953), p. 232, footnote 40.

Scholars the world over have attempted to clarify the meaning of nationalism without success. This is, according to Snyder, due to the "inadequacy of words as the transmission belt of social communications," the varied implication of nationalism itself, its change of meaning in the course of history, and its significance to different peoples.[3] In short, the meaning of nationalism differs according to disciplines, peoples, places, and time.

What we will attempt here are: first, to determine the presence and date of the beginning of nationalism in the Philippines in the 19th century, more specifically, either in 1872 or 1882; second, to classify this type of nationalism; third, to discuss the conditions under which this class of nationalism thrived in the Philippines; and fourth, to trace briefly, by way of illustration, the various phases of this type of nationalism and as a whole, to detect its direction in the 19th century. In the process we might also introduce some concepts by way of clarifying certain ticklish issues about Philippine nationalism and its various manifestations.

Before we turn to our first objective reference is hereby made to the famous Hayes classification of nationalism. Carlton J. H. Hayes, the originator, is of the belief that "nationalism is plural rather than singular."[4] He classifies nationalism as follows: Humanitarian, Jacobin, Liberal, Integral, and Economic.

Under the above classification, where does Filipino nationalism belong? To a certain extent arbitrariness cannot be eliminated and making due allowance for this, Filipino nationalism belongs to the class Hayes called "liberal nationalism." If so, what do we mean by liberal nationalism? Hayes said it is a type that exhibited characteristics of both nationalism and liberalism and "stressed the absolute sovereignty of the national state but sought to limit the implications of this principle by stressing individual liberties—political, economic, and religious . . ."[5]

The idea that a tyrant might be expelled, the aspirations toward nationhood, the longing for a new national cohesion and a new national spirit, the idea of a state rooted in popular consent and enthusiasm, are concepts included in liberal nationalism. It appeals usually to the middle class who in turn spread its gospel to the people. At least, in word and drift, liberal nationalism is not only liberal and national but also in some ways democratic. Romantic elements are also discernible.

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[3] *Ibid.,* p. 4.

[4] Carlton J. H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism.* (New York, 1931), preface, p. v.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 135.

Indeed, according to Hayes, romanticism magnified the sympathy of the advocates of liberal nationalism "for the underdogs, for the suffering of the downtrodden masses and for the misery of enslaved peoples."[6] Researches are also undertaken by the advocates of liberal nationalism with a view to demonstrating a people's glorious history and culture.

As a movement, liberal nationalism is chiefly evolutionary but certainly not reactionary, and whilst tending to be revolutionary in practice, it is not so in theory. The adherents look to the day when all nations would enjoy opportunities for independent development. It is neither democratic nor aristocratic, but with some of the attributes of each. Humanitarian elements and also compromise are well-defined.

Historically, liberal nationalism started in England towards the 18th century and in the mind of Jeremy Bentham, founder of the philosophy of utilitarianism. As a matter of fact, liberal nationalism was but an adjunct to Bentham's utilitarianism and as such it aimed at promoting the "greatest good for the greatest number."

The Ancien Regime: Ground for Growth of Nationalism

Under what circumstances did this class of nationalism grow in the Philippines? In our history, the most fertile ground for the growth of liberal nationalism is the 19th century. Conditions during that time merit the descriptive phrase "ancien regime." The expression "ancien regime" or old regime comes from France. According to Crane Brinton, as applied to the history of France, the phrase "refers to the way of life of the three or four generations preceeding the Revolution of 1789, especially to the last generation."[7] We borrow the phrase "ancien regime" not to impress or imply the idea of similarity of conditions in the Philippines and France before the Revolution, but to make known to the readers that the phrase could be applied in the situation of an agricultural country like the Philippines. The phrase, as applied in the Philippines denotes two ideologies: retention of the status quo which would mean the preservation of exploitative devices by interests directly concerned; and change, either evolutionary or revolutionary, for the better or worse. The two thought-processes are logically in sequence one taking place after the other. But they are also contrasting. The phrase, as appropriated in this paper, presented that picture of our past when tyranny and exploitation, in their various forms and phases, existed. It denoted for the Philippines an intolerable condition whereby controlling interests, whether government, or church, etc., wanted the "preservation of their rule," and whereby the exploited and tyrannizd aimed at first, toward reformation of society and later, total uprootment of the prevailing system. Finally, *Ancien Regime* is used for our purpose to characterize a situation which proved fertile for the sprouting and growth of the seeds of nationalism, a device necessary to affect change. In more reasons than one the use of the phrase to apply to the Spanish era, especially in the last century of her rule, is justified. Society during the time was quite unstable due to class conflict and racial hatred.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[7] Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938), p. 28.

A wide gap existed between social classes. Perhaps the matter was complicated by the existence of plural societies. Superimposed above the Filipino society was the society composed of Spanish elements, either religious or governmental, and other Europeans. At this stage, clarification is needed. Distinctions should be made between the Philippine society and the colonial society. In the former, foreign elements were included, the latter was exclusively "native elements." This clarification has a bearing on the so-called middle class which some Filipino authors claimed to be responsible for liberalism and later nationalism in the Philippines. Actually, social divisions in the Philippines were so confusing and complicated. At the top of the great social pyramid were the Peninsulares who regarded the Philippines as their exclusive property. Yet Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro claimed that this class was not adopted to Philippine conditions, especially to agriculture, because of climate.[8] Thus the Peninsulares were condemned to "idleness," "poverty," and "misery." These people therefore were not only useless but also dangerous and that "among them revolutions are born."[9]

The Insulares, next in the social bracket, were called *Hijos del Pais*. They were descendants of Spanish settlers, who avoided mingling with native blood. They complained, on their part, that barriers were raised between them and their countrymen from the Peninsula. In a word, the spirit of caste exercised its separating and alienating influences in the Philippines.[10] Next in social ranking were the foreigners: British, French, Americans, etc., who were regarded by all classes with disgust and suspicion. At most, they were considered outside the social pyramid. Below were the creoles[11] and mestizos who occupied the base of the upper social pyramid. John Foreman claimed that they constituted a very influential body, serving as middle men between natives in the provinces and the European firms in Manila.[12] Among themselves, they were continually struggling to attain the respect and consideration accorded to the "superior class," while their connection and purely native relation linked them to the "inferior class." Henry Piddington made these comments about the mestizos:

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[8] "Reforms Needed in Filipinas" (Madrid, April 26, 1827) in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson *The Philippine Islands,* 1493-1898. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903-1907). Vol. LI, p. 210. (Henceforth to be referred to simply as B & R).

[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 210-211.

[10] Sir John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands.* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1859), pp. 112-113.

> Too proud to consider themselves as Indians, and not too sufficiently pure in blood to be acknowledged as Spaniards, they affect the manners of the last, with the dress of the first, and despising, are despised by both.[13]

Below this pyramid, we find the Filipino society. At the top of this smaller pyramid, we find the caciques of pure native extractions and half-bred Chinese. The Chinese-Filipino mestizos constituted the richest and the most enterprising portion of the native population.[14] Although this might be the case yet, the people looked down upon them with contempt and not unmixed with jealousy due to their "superior" qualities especially in trade or business enterprises.

The Filipino masses were treated with ridicule by those above them including their upper class brethren, the caciques. They were called derogatory names like *"Indios," "barbaros," "brutos,"* and *ignorantes.* The conditions of the masses were aggravated by the caciques' tyrannical ways. They were prominent in the feudal society of the times by virtue of their land-holdings and wealth, and as agents of the government and church, and other social and educational concomittants of wealth.

In justice to Spain, caciquism was a pre-conquest institution although perhaps it was then more humane than during the Spanish era. However, Spain tolerated and perpetuated the institution. By way of encouraging caciquism the church and the government utilized the caciques as intermediaries between them and the masses. For this purpose a new class was created—the *principalía.* There is reason to believe that Spain riveted the system in many ways more firmly than during the pre-conquest time. With this vantage, it is quite inaccurate to make an arbitrary classification of society in the Philippines into upper, middle, and lower classes. To make a claim that a middle class existed in the society of the period needs clarification. The Middle class did exist vertically in the Philippine society. But for all practical purposes, this class might as well belong to the upper division inasmuch as a great barrier separated them from the masses. By virtue of their wealth obtained either through land earnings or trade, or both, by their education which they alone could afford, and by their privileged political and religious positions, this class maintained their aristocratic existence apart from the world of poverty faced by the masses. Suffice it to say that from the social stand point, class division in the Philippines should take in consideration several criteria: race, mental attitudes, political and religious positions, social prestige, wealth, education, place of birth, etc. These things pointed out the existence of social cleavage and frictions, if not, social conflict and social consciousness. Nevertheless, one should not be deceived into thinking that there was class conflict in the Marxian sense. All aspects of social conflict existed but these did not develop into a "class war." Besides, under these confused conditions, one finds it hard to make a clear social class delineation. But administratively, religiously, and vertically, a "middle-class" existed. Although considerations of mental attitudes, education, wealth for both, social prestige, and political influences, seemed to point out that this so-called middle-class was really an "upper class." It was this class — i.e., middle class from the viewpoint of the Philippine society but "upper class" from that of the "Filipino society"—that engaged actively in the Propaganda Movement.

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[11] The author does not seem aware of the fact that the *insulares* were the creoles in the archipelago, and that this group was called and considered as Filipinos, while the brown-skinned natives were termed as either *naturales* or *indios.*—The Editor.

[12] John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands.* (2nd edition, New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), pp. 113-114.

[13] "Remarks on the Philippine Islands, 1819-1822 by an Englishmen" (Calcutta, 1828) in B & R, *op. cit.,* p. 102.

[14] "Feodor Jagor's Travels in the Philippines" in Austin Craig (ed.), *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes.* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., Inc., 1916), p. 31.

Education, that great tool of social awakening, remained stagnant for more than two hundred years. Reforms along educational lines were introduced. But the Spanish educational system did not afford opportunities for the youth of the land to gain real education which was reserved for the favored aristocracy thereby enhancing further the powers and influence already possessed by the caciques. The public school system provided by the decree of 1863 remained under the control of the friars till the end of the Spanish era. Schools established by the religious orders and sisterhood remained exclusively for the aristocracy. The children of the masses had no chance to enter those exclusive schools. LeRoy observed that the content of the Educational Program "...remained a pretentious but superficial thing, more sounding brass than solid achievement."[15]

The religio-politico situations were no better if not worse, than the other aspects of the old regime in the Philippines. Probably the greatest evil in the government of the period was the toleration and perpetuation of graft and corruption.

The role of the church as the chief center especially in towns was underscored by James LeRoy. The *convento* (parish priest's residence) was commonly the place of consultation on religious, political, social, and personal matters.[16] It is not surprising therefore if the friars in the Philippines would refuse any change in the *status quo* that would upset their "arcadia," where the people lived in rustic innocence and untroubled quiet.

Time, however, was the greatest ally of the people. By the 19th century, Spain could not keep the Philippines forever isolated, and after the failure of the *Real Compañia de Filipinas,* she opened the country to world commerce. European ideologies started to come in and began to influence the people directly or indirectly by word of mouth, reading materials, etc. Spain could not stop the rising tides of nationalism and eventually she, herself, had to succumb under the impact of the French revolutionary ideals. The revolutionary Spanish constitution of 1812 betrayed some Jacobin influence but a larger amount of Benthamite liberal influence was predominant too.

Meanwhile events in the Philippines were slowly crystalizing the ideas of liberal nationalism in the minds of a few Filipinos. The improvements in transportation and communication facilities, the educational impetus generated by the return of the Jesuits, the Spanish revolution of 1868, the opening of the Suez Canal, the administration of the liberal Governor La Torre, and finally the struggle for Filipinization of the parishes spearheaded by Fr. Pedro P. Pelaez and continued to a tragic climax in Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora, combined to unite the people into a nation. Only a spark was needed to ignite the smouldering embers of nationalism to make it dynamic. This was supplied by the tragic incident in Cavite in 1872 which resulted in the execution of the leaders of Filipinization—Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora.

Some scholars therefore date the beginning of Filipino nationalism in 1872. It is true that the three priests are extolled as heroes and the incident inspired the Propaganda Movement and the Katipunan but to claim that this is the beginning of nationalism in the Philippines is to misread our history and do damage to scholarship. The three priests were not fighting for the cause of freedom or for the people as a whole. They wanted protection of their rights as priests. Their interests were to insure justice for their own class. Their reform movement was also suspected. This was due to the very nature and character of the reform the Filipinos of their era demanded.

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[15] James A. LeRoy, "The Philippines 1860-1898: Some Comments and Bibliographical Notes," in B & R, *op. cit.,* Vol. LII, p. 125.

[16] *Philippine Life in Town and Country.* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1905), p. 51.

The groups headed by Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Maximo Paterno, etc., wanted representation in the central government which naturally would benefit only the upper class Filipinos. The same is true with the reforms demanded by the Filipino priests. Beyond doubt, the most powerful professionals during the period were the priests. If secularization was implemented, we can speculate that logically there would only be a transfer of powers from the Spanish to the Filipino priests, who under our class divisions belonged to the upper class Filipinos or middle-class in the Philippine society. It appeared that the bases of other authors in claiming that Filipino nationalism began in 1872 were: the influence of the tragic incident on the lives of the major propaganda leaders like Rizal and del Pilar and the statement of Edmund Plauchut, a Frenchman who witnessed the execution.

It is beyond doubt that the tragedy influenced Rizal and del Pilar. Rizal in his letter to Mariano Ponce on April 18, 1889 claimed that "... without 1872, Rizal would now be a Jesuit and instead of writing *Noli me tangere,* he would have written the contrary. In view of such injustices and cruelties, child though I was then, my imagination was awakened and I swore to dedicate myself to avenge some day such victims." He also wrote a dedicatory message to the three priests in the *El Filibusterismo.* The same influence was discernible in the writings of Marcelo H. del Pilar. But significantly, the materialization of their ideas and sentiments did not appear in 1872; at most, it was during the Propaganda Movement. Both men considered this execution as a wrong against the whole Filipinos but they did not do anything about it until later.

If the basis of our authors in considering 1872 as the beginning of nationalism was the statement of Edmund Plauchut, then let us quote some passages that might serve the purpose. Plauchut said:

> The whole day of the 15th of February, up to the morning of the 16th, the people never tired of visiting the chapel where the condemned were confined. On the 16th Filipinos from nearby provinces, like Bulacan, Kapampangan, Kabite, and Laguna, came to see once more those whom they called their parents, their three beloved martyrs. About 40,000 people, almost in mourning black, crowded into the space between the cells and the four garrote platforms.[17]

Plauchut had reasons to see in the incident the unity of three social classes: the creoles, mestizos, and *indios,* "to fight, in the future, the real enemy of all, i.e., the masters."[18] As a Frenchman influenced by the Revolutionary ideals of his country, he saw in the incident the realization of Filipino nationalism to fight the colonial masters. The fact that there were "thousands" of Filipinos who witnessed the execution did not mean the overnight miraculous birth of the Filipino nation in 1872. There was no way of measuring how the crowd felt during the time. Neither was there any affirmation of the sentiments of nationalism in one form or another, like for instance, mass demonstrations of protest, nor any tangible evidence of some form of crystalization of this "national consciousness" on the part of the people. We cannot even claim in truth that when the first phase of the propaganda movement began there was unity of action even among the few leaders. At most, we can only claim that the incident in 1872 was a very important spark that ignited the fire of nationalism; a factor which the Filipino leaders of the Propaganda and the Revolution, used as tangible symbols of their nationalism to awaken the people.

Liberal Nationalism and the Propaganda Movement

Ten years after the incident we witnessed the appearance for the first time of liberal nationalism in the Philippines, in the form of the Propaganda Movement. This showed the long strides the Filipino mind had taken since the time of La Torre.

As a movement and like any other movements, liberal nationalism in our country was started by a few. Number is not an essential factor although it assisted greatly this sentiment or corporate will we call liberal nationalism. Again, one cannot help but notice too that liberal nationalism is an economically backward area like the Philippines started as a cultural movement. The writings or literature of the propaganda leaders are replete with romantic idealism of things native—from appreciation of Filipino women and their virtues, to desire to inspire further studies of native dialects, songs, and other institutions. Pedro Paterno's *Ninay* and *La Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog,* Dr. Rizal's edition and annotation of A. de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, Maria Makiling,* etc., and Graciano Lopez-Jaena's translations of Visayan folksongs in *Islas Filipinas: Cantares de Bisayas,* and many more, tended to demonstrate the Filipinos' glorious history and culture before and after the coming of the Spaniards. The leaders could not help being "romantic" because their country and people were enslaved and the masses were suffering from the tyranny of the masters. Side by side with these elements are concepts of individual liberty and equality. As first manifested in the Propaganda Movement, liberal nationalism in our country was the affirmation of individual freedom from authority, the self-assertion of personality in the face of tyranny of church and state, and the delivery of the masses from the yoke of slavery and superstitions. The emphasis of liberal nationalism as expressed in the propaganda movement was to fight against intolerance and the censorship by the church and state.

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[17] "The Cavite Uprising," translated into English in *The Historical Bulletin.* (Manila: December, 1960), Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 14.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 12.

The movement originated with the Filipino aristocracy or caciques and other members of the *principalía.* But this campaign was something more than it appeared to be on the surface. True enough, the reforms demanded were not thoroughly grasped and understood by the masses at first. At the same time these reforms were at first on behalf of the upper and middle classes composed mostly of the landed aristocrats, merchants, and *ilustrados.* Some of the reforms asked were impractical under the conditions then obtaining. Certainly the restoration of the Philippine representation to the Spanish Cortes would benefit only the upper and middle class Filipinos. Nevertheless the principles and purposes of liberal nationalism were expounded by the leaders.

The leaders assumed that the Philippines should be made a province of Spain to put an end to friar rule. They also wanted the broadest practical exercise of personal liberty in the political, economic, religious, and educational fields. Their devotion to the cause of justice was manifested by the demand for equality between Filipinos and Spaniards before the law. It is significant, as noted by LeRoy, that the propagandists were true "sons of the country" though associated with them were a few sons of the half-caste aristocracy.[19] LeRoy also observed that although Dr. Rizal and M. H. del Pilar came from the heart of the advanced communities of Tagalogs around Manila, "yet the islands as a whole were beginning to be represented in the propaganda, notably by the Lunas, from Ilocos, and Graciano Lopez-Jaena, a Bisaya."[20]

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[19] Jame LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country,* pp. 75-76, *et. passim.*

It would be discerned that the Propaganda was chiefly "evolutionary," not "reactionary." It tended to be a revolutionary in practice but not in theory. To the Spanish elements in the country, the demands were shockingly revolutionary as demands for a change are at any given time and against any given group. The friars were the main object of attacks. Anti-friar feelings were obvious as shown in the writings of M. H. del Pilar, Graciano Lopez-Jaena, Dr. Jose Rizal, and others. But it did not necessarily mean that the leaders were anti-Spanish and for that matter anti-Spain. The propagandists were not demanding for an independent political state in the Philippines. But one should bear in mind that independence is not necessarily an inherent factor in nationalism. The fact is, in the Propaganda Movement, we detected a process of fusion of patriotism with consciousness of nationality which made for genuine nationalism. It was true that the reforms demanded, especially for assimilation seems to negate the sentiment of nationalism among the propaganda leaders. Actually however, assimilation is germane to nationalism in so far as the movement was concerned. Most propaganda leaders had pinioned their hope on assimilation of the Philippines and its people, thinking that their country was not prepared for independence and that "integration" with the mother country would pave the way for reforms. These "reforms" would then benefit the people and very likely, if granted, would lead to *statehood.*

The propaganda movement was also a social movement against caciquism. The leaders wanted democracy in the Filipino society. Dr. Rizal was probably the most vocal in this direction when he drew a clear picture of a typical cacique in the person of Capitán Tiago, who had prospered and grown fat in comparison with his lean fellow-natives. In the abortive Liga Filipina, Dr. Rizal attempted to construct, if we are to believe one authority, "a community that was to be both national and Filipino in character."[21] The constitution actually did not inject any racial element into the Liga Filipina. It provided for a fraternal society which looked toward unity of action in matters political, religious, social, and economics among the members. Thus Rizal aimed at democratization of the society where members were to be socially equal. Provisions were made for the protection of the poor against any powerful person. The Liga Filipina, and for that matter, the Propaganda Campaign, as LeRoy said, "was not alone a protest against ecclesiastical domination, but also against economic and administrative caciquism."[22]

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Cesar A. Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution,* published under the auspices of *The Diliman Review.* (Quezon City: U.P. Press, 1957). Vol. V, Nos. 1-4, p. 111.

At this stage, attention is called to the fruitless efforts of the Propaganda leaders to secure reforms for the Philippines. One is inclined to believe that the movement, considering the Spanish attitude, was a tragic interlude in the history of the Philippines. Part of the blame for the failure of the Propaganda Movement should be borne by some caciques who sabotaged the movement. Partly, also, the reformers themselves were to blame. They failed to read thru the times and understand Spain's uncompromising attitude. Only M. H. del Pilar, among the prominent reformers, accurately understood the futility of their efforts. But then it was too late for him. He was already a sick man and he died on the way to the Philippines intending to lead a revolution.

Contribution of the Revolution to Liberal Nationalism

The reform movement had served its purpose. It was now the turn of the lower class. The Katipunan, founded by the plebeian Andrés Bonifacio, had been imbued by the spirit of liberal nationalism which the reformers disseminated. The Katipunan adopted nationalistic symbols like tri-colors, feast days, heroes, etc.[23] Elements of romanticism are shown in the initiation rites and questions asked of the neophytes. Thus while the middle class preached, the lower class acted.

It is commonly parroted by students and historians that the Katipunan was originally a revolutionary society. This is only a half-truth. It was no more revolutionary than the Liga Filipina had been. The Katipunan was primarily a nationalistic society but not necessarily revolutionary in the sense that it did not advocate the immediate use of force which was justifiable after some years of frustration.

Instead we find the Katipunan adopting a conciliatory attitude. The evidence is clear about the matter. The Katipunan's political objective, to quote Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo, "was to separate from the mother country if the government of Spain continued to resist the clamor for the expulsion of the friars—who, in the eyes of the natives, were their oppressors—and if the sovereign country insisted on withholding political rights from the people.[24] The Katipunan then gave the Spaniards a chance to institute reforms before it would resort to arms. This attitude is further substantiated by the four-year delay since the society's founding in 1892, before it resorted to revolution to arms, nevertheless it might be one of the major reasons. Thus we find in the Katipunan a very important ingredient of liberal nationalism—willingness to compromise.

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[22] James LeRoy, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[23] See Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan.* (Quezon City: The U.P. Press, 1956).

What then did the Katipunan, and for that matter, the revolutionary period in all its phases, contribute to the development of liberal nationalism in the Philippines? For one, the goal of independence was added to the concept. Independence from then on became the common aspiration of the Filipinos until it was attained in 1946. Liberal ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity were to remain their battle-cry to the end of the Spanish regime. The fundamental rights of man, preached by the reformers and given more force by the Katipunan, became firmly rooted in the minds of the people.

During the second phase of the revolution, the greatest document illlustrative of Filipino liberal nationalism is the Malolos Constitution.[25] It provided for a government which is popular, representative, and responsible. Personal liberties are assured in several articles. The doctrine of separation of powers is well-defined but a parliamentary system is also provided. Separation of church and state, the subject heatedly discussed by the delegates, is also guaranteed in article 5. However, the implementation of this article was suspended. Prof. Agoncillo inferred that this might have been due to Mabini's influence.[26]

The kind of government established had both the elements of democracy and oligarchy of the middle-class in the Philippine society. As a matter of fact, the members of the middle class, under the constitution, were not so immediately intent upon realizing democracy for the masses as upon obtaining control and direction of national government by their own class. Hence, the legislative body is the most powerful branch of the government under the Malolos Constitution. Indeed, Hayes claimed that this class "had no burning faith in democracy as a 'natural right' or as a dogma, and consequently, their devotion to it lacked fervency."[27] Felipe Calderon, the author of the Malolos Constitution, in giving the legislature greater powers than the other two branches of the government, pointed out that he "preferred the oligarchy of the intelligent to an ignorant oligarchy."

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[25] Full text of the Malolos Constitution in Teodoro Agoncillo's *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic.* (Quezon City: U.P. Press, 1960), Appendix D, pp. 761-785.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

It is quite unfortunate that the practical realization of the Constitution was sabotaged by the authors themselves. These same elements later on abandoned the cause of independence and sided with the Americans during the Filipino-American conflict.

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[27] Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137.

THE WESTERN PACIFIC

Alfred Stirling

The author of this article, one of the most cultured members of Manila's diplomatic set—he is currently the Ambassador from Australia—advances the thesis that during the last 20 years our world has completely changed and reached the threshold of the Jet and Atomic Age.

It is with considerable diffidence that I offer these few thoughts of an amateur in this distinguished gathering [at the first international conference of historians of Asia]. I feel sure that, as President Garcia has stressed, it is an occasion of real significance for all of our countries in this part of the world.

You will understand if, with my limited historical resources, I keep a good deal to the region where the Philippines and Australia meet—the region of the Pacific Basin, the great area of historical cultures to which we belong and the period of the 19th and 20th centuries, in which we have come together, slowly at first, and, lately, very fast indeed.

Up till fairly recently it was remarkable that there were cycles of meeting—and of isolation—between any two given countries, even close neighbours; between East and West; between the Atlantic and the Pacific; between North and South; (the great, crowded Northern hemisphere of Europe, Asia and North America (the hemisphere to which the Philippines belongs) and the relatively empty Southern hemisphere—South America, Southern Africa, Oceania, Antarctica —(to which Australia belongs).

Those days of long periods of isolation, alternating with close contact, are gone for ever.

We have, in the last 20 years, stepped into a new, still unnamed age.

Twenty years ago we left what we called "modern times." I suppose this modern age had lasted about 300 years. The professors of history at Santo Tomas in 1640 would no doubt have had no difficulty in understanding and making themselves understood by men of 1940 or 1939, the eve of the 2nd World War.

But what would they think about the men of 1960, of the jet age, the Atomic Age, the Space era; how would they manage with them?

When I was at school in Australia during the First World War of 1914-18, there was a boy from the Philippines who could never go home to his country for holidays, not even in the long vacation, and so he stayed with the headmaster and his family. It would have taken him 10 weeks—5 weeks each way—by sea; and the holidays only lasted 8 weeks.

Today when schoolboys from the island of Negros, and from the State of Victoria, Australia, go up and down for a year of exchange, they spend only one brief night in the air. When, next year, the jet aeroplanes ply between Manila and Sydney, even that time will be cut by half.

Hong Kong is only an hour or so away by jet. We could all cite from our own experience of travel even more dramatic air dashes.

The truth is we shall never be able to get away from each other again.

The Second World War proved it. As the English poet Laurie Lee wrote in his "The Long War," written in London at the end of 1944 —

> "Caught in one grief we share one wound
> and cry one dialect of pain . . . . .
> We have forgot who fired the house
> whose easy mischief spilt first blood
> Under one raging roof we lie
> The fault no longer understood.
> But as our twisted arms embrace
> The desert where our cities stood
> Death's family likeness in each face
> Must show at last our brotherhood."

And today, in peace—or cold war—the inability to stay apart is even more evident.

At any moment we may be in contact with the moon or other planets, with all that this will imply for our small Earth.

I suppose that, in the early days of history, some three or four thousand years ago, such few civilisations as existed, were as remote from each other as from the stars.

Let us assume that mankind started in the world about 100,000 years ago. Let us assume too that advanced civilisation dates from about 5,000 B.C.

During the period that followed—i.e. the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C.—China, India and the Middle East (—Mesopotamia plus Egypt—) the three great and growing centres of civilisation, had no contact at all with each other.

Then came a great cycle of contact—a thousand years of exchanges. Roman ships seem to have got to China even before the birth of Christ.

The great contact which is fascinating to study is that of Greece and India. Vice President Radhakrishnan, who so memorably visited this city only last year, tells that Indian troops were in Greece—in the Persian Army—in 480 B.C., and that Indian traders were established at Memphis. Alexandria was also one of the places to which Indians regularly came. You will remember that Alexander the Great's Greeks were in Northern India, in 327 B.C. They were certainly there: Alexander himself married two Asian princesses, from Bactria and Persia, and 100 of his officers and 10,000 of his soldiers are said to have followed his example.

These Greeks who settled in India gradually became Indianised. I imagine that Greek influence can be seen to some extent in the religious art of Mahayana Buddhism.

Radhakrishnan considers however that what the Indian took from the Greek was rarely substance and never spirit. It was in the main external—matters of form in art and possibly civic institutions.

It seems likely on the other hand that India may have been the source of the new, rather un-Greek, ideal of asceticism which began to grow up in the West.

Although it is difficult to determine whether Indian philosophy influenced Greek philosophy, or vice versa, it seems clear, in any case, that throughout this period the three great civilisations—China, India and the Mediterranean—for Rome had now joined Egypt and Greece—all *resembled* each other more than they differed; notably in their concept of relations between God and man, and what Barbara Ward calls "the reaching out to a single Godhead in place of many gods."

Then we come to another long period of 500 or 600 years in which contacts between East and West were once again almost nonexistent.

When in the 13th century Marco Polo, the Venetian boy, became Secretary to the Emperor of China, the Mongol Kublai Khan, and later came home to tell his story, it was like a comic strip of Brick Bradford, or some traveller to the moon.

China of course at that period was in every way far ahead of Venice.

In the opposite direction, we get the Arabs pouring across North Africa and into south-western Europe, and establishing great centres of Arab learning e.g. Cordoba in Spain. They also got as far north as Central France. Even today, in the central province of Angouleme, as a Frenchman with whom I stayed there recently told me, his neighbours were "all Moors."

The Moors enriched the West with architecture, medicine, mathematics, vocabulary—thousands of words in Spanish and very many in English.

Indirectly they enriched Australia too because they brought with them to Spain the merino sheep from Barbary, the land of the Berbers. There were no native sheep in Spain of comparable quality, as is seen from the classic *Libro de Agricultura* of Abu Zacharia Ben Ahmed. The *Churros,* the old reddish Iberian breed that gave the wool to the Romans which we read of in Juvena, were quite different. The name Merino it seems came from the Ben Merinos, one of the Berber tribes of the movemnt into Spain.

From Spain, about 1800, the merino sheep came to Australia, where today there are 155 million.

But despite all this enrichment, the Muslims from North Africa in a sense shut off the West from the East—they were a barrier shutting off Europe from India and China.

Then came the great break-through, renewing once again contacts between West and East, when the Portuguese, at the end of the 15th century, opened the sea-route to India round the Cape.

Following on the navigators, we find the advent of the Church, mostly the Jesuits, as far as China and Japan—and the opening up of Japan to Western religion.

And then, suddenly, in the early 16th century, this movement to Japan closed down. We find a period of over 300 years when Japan was sealed off, except for a trickle of Dutch.

To appreciate *how* sealed-off, read Townsend Harris's diary, the first American minister to Japan a hundred years ago. He did not even learn for quite a time after his arrival that there was a Mikado hidden away.

The Philippines, although still more remote out in the Pacific than Japan—more remote from the great land masses and centres of population—nonetheless had close contacts with China for many centuries; and no doubt with Indo-China and the mainland of Malaya; possibly at some remote period they were actually linked by land, as stories of Philippine elephants and the skeletons of tigers seem to suggest.

Last week at Fort Pilar in Zamboanga I read a plaque which sums up the way in which this country has never been isolated:

> "Founded as southern outpost of Spanish domain under the supervision of Melchor de Vera 1635; attacked by the Dutch 1646; deserted when troops were concentrated in Manila to drive away Chinese pirates 1663; reconstructed by the Society of Jesus 1666; re-built under the management of Juan Siscarra 1719; stormed by Dalan King of Bulig with 3,000 Moros in 1720; cannonaded by the British 1798; abandoned by the Spaniards 1898; occupied by the Americans 1899; seized by the Japanese 1941; taken over by the Republic of the Philippines 4th July 1946."

You will agree that it would be hard to find further past participles.

From the end of the European Middle Ages—the beginning of the 16th century—the Philippines were never at any time in isolation. The Spaniards came, and the Catholic Church, and there began the long three and a half centuries period of close links with Spain and, still closer, with the North American continent—Mexico; and to some extent, the South American continent—Peru.

What a fascinating story is that of the first line of ships on our Pacific Ocean—the longest lived shipping line in all history—300 years—the government line of Manila Galleons from Manila to Acapulco, linking the Philippines and North America and, indirectly, Europe. It lasted until well into the 19th century.

Then later came the first relations of the Philippines with the United States, which today make up perhaps the most intimate and unique relationship between any two sovereign independent countries: that is to say, outside the countries which form the British Commonwealth, and the ties which link Australia not only with the mother country of Great Britain, but with the sister countries of India, of Canada, of Pakistan, of New Zealand.

I have recently been reading that stimulating book—by an Australian who left Europe for the United States—Peter Drucker's "The Landmarks of To-morrow." Among his many provocative topics, he maintains that the East has almost become what he calls "a mere geographic direction."

Citing Kipling's tag about "East is East and West is West," he stresses that the twain have indeed met.

As he puts it "the twain *have* met, in one chaotic, anarchic, explosive but common disorder and world civilisation."

It is interesting to follow his line of reasoning. He stresses how all over the world non-western peoples have built up western-style armed forces. He takes as a point the belief, held outside and even inside Japan, that while natural soldiers and sailors, the Japanese were not capable of flying modern aircraft; "something to do with their eyesight," he said. Then in the Second World War the Japanese developed fighter pilots second to none.

Drucker claims that no viable society today can be built on non-western foundations.

Certainly the Old Japan has been almost completely industrialised and westernised.

Then we see immemorial peasant China being made over in a new image, a Western image, not the democratic Anglo-Saxon image but the Communist image of Russia. President Mao has himself denounced China's own traditions. He may still write Chinese poetry in classic ideograms, but he has begun to introduce the Latin alphabet.

In India Gandhi's social economic gospel has not prevailed. Rather has India turned to rapid industrialisation. Turned also to a Western Army, rather than to non-violent resistance.

Mr. Nehru is often described as a mellow English Fabian socialist of the vintage of 40 years ago.

So in Africa, the spiritual ancestry of the men who sit in the Speakers' chairs in Nigeria or Ghana, just as in Canberra or Ottawa or New Delhi or Wellington, includes all the political thinkers and Parliamentarians of the English tradition, back to the days of King John and the Barons and Runnymede and Magna Charta.

I think there is a good deal of truth in these ideas of Peter Drucker about the meeting of East and West.

But I do not share the views attributed to another former Eastern European, the Hungarian refugee now established in the U.S., Arthur Koestler, whose latest book "The Lotos and the Robot" apparently contains the thesis that the long-standing belief of the West in the great spiritual superiority of the East is no longer well based.

According to Koestler — "To look at Asia for mystic enlightenment and spiritual guidance has become as much an anachronism as to think of America as the *Wild* West."

Where does Australia fit into all this—this picture of the Western Pacific, the meetings and partings of East and West of Asia, Europe and America? The sixth continent, as it is sometimes called, was long an empty land: "the cenotaph of species dead elsewhere." For centuries it was populated by a handful of aboriginal inhabitants who came, it is thought, from the extreme South of India, but no one can say when; and also by strange marsupial animals. The only non-marsupial is the dingo dog, a true dog, although he has forgotten how to bark, and he probably came down with the first aboriginals in their canoes. Today there are about 50,000 of the original inhabitants, mainly in the near-desert centre of Australia—as there are remnants of primitive peoples in central Luzon.

There do not appear to have been more than this number at any time—certainly not when the first discoverers from Europe came. Tasman failed to find a human being in Tasmania.

The Spaniards were the first voyagers either from Europe or Asia to take a slight interest in Australia. About the time when Magellan was in the Philippines—perhaps 50 years later—the Spaniard de Quiros sailed along the north coast of Australia, through Torres Strait, but they seemed to have had no idea that anything more than a small island lay to the south. They christened it Tierra Australia del Espiritu Santo.

A few weeks ago one of the leading historians of Australia, and one of the pioneers as professor of Australian history, Dr. Eris O'Brien, now the Archbishop of Canberra, re-visited Manila. Father de la Costa will recall that, on the authority of Cardinal Moran, the first Australian Cardinal, some seventy years ago, Archbishop O'Brien told us of the legends, possibly true, that bring the Spaniards very much further south—even as far as Gladstone on the Queensland coast.

In 1840 too, Spanish Benedictines from Barcelona founded the monastery of New Norcia in Western Australia, a Spanish community with its church, its colleges and library, its Murillos, its olives, its wool and its wines.

Soon after the Spaniards came the Dutch, already long established in Java.

One puzzle is presented by the appearance in an English portrait (in the collection at Woburn Abbey) of the daughter of the Earl of Bedford of that day. The little girl is standing beside her Australian cockatoo, the white, sulphur crested cockatoo found only in Australia. Yet this was years before Tasman landed in Australia. Probably the bird was blown away from the coast and descended on a Dutch ship sailing back from Java and when the ship got to London the Earl of Bedford bought it from the sailors for his little girl.

One day last week in Zamboanga I saw one of these white, sulphur crested cockatoos—in captivity. I wonder if those birds have long been linked with that southern island: if so, the riddle of the picture becomes simpler.

One link between Australia and the Philippines which suggests that there may have been at one time a land link between them is the gum tree—the eucalyptus. This is the national tree of Australia and although it has been exported all over the world, it is not found as a native elsewhere except in the islands close to the Australian coast—New Caledonia, New Guinea, Timor. And also in one island of the Philippines—Mindanao—where around Cotabato you find the indigenous gum tree—eucalyptus deglupta.

After the Dutch in the middle 17th century, Australia lapsed into another of those long periods of isolation—for over a century. Then came the British, with Captain Cook, and gradually they set up a series of six little colonies around the coast which, in 1900, federated to form the six States of the Australian Commonwealth. For 50 years they remained very small then about 1850 came the gold rush which brought millions of people to Australia from all over the world. Vast numbers from Ireland (which had just had a terrible famine) and Scotland, a great many from the United States, vast numbers of Chinese and smaller groups of Indians and Afghans. Rapidly Australia grew from a few thousand people to several millions.

Among Australia's contacts with Asia, China has been outstanding and a number of descendants of early gold rush period Chinese have played an outstanding part in Australian life—a leader of the Bar in Melbourne, leading clergy not only in Australia but in England, and in the Australian Diplomatic Service.

The best school of early Australian architecture had a distinctly Chinese influence but this probably came by way of England and the great wave of Chinese cultural interest in England and France in the late 18th century. Fine examples are to be seen in the early colonial country-houses in southern New South Wales.

A more direct architectural influence from Asia is that of Colonel Light, the man who established Adelaide in 1837, the best laid-out of all the Australian cities and a pioneer of town planning. Colonel Light came from Penang. His father and grandfather before him had been officers in the British Army in Malaya who had in each case married Malayan ladies. In fact, Colonel Light for a long time fought a claim to the city of Penang which he said belonged to his mother's father.

A second, almost comparable wave of migration was just before, during and immediately after the Second World War when refugees from many countries came there.

Here then was Australia, largely through its gold, brought into contact with Europe, America and Asia.

But despite all these important ties and contacts, Australia is also, and perhaps principally, a country of the Pacific basin. This makes for a very special relationship between Australia and the Philippines. Both are island communities right out in the Western Pacific. We are of course not the only island communities in the Pacific. There are also Japan, Hawaii (now the 50th State, bringing the United States half way across the Pacific), New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga (a kingdom within the British Commonwealth) and the French groups of Tahiti and New Caledonia.

Of course the Philippines and Australia belong to different hemispheres, one to the north, the other to the south, and the equator lies just between us; but a glance at the map shows how close southern Mindanao is to the Northern Territory of Australia as anyone knows who has flown from Zamboanga to Darwin.

To begin with, contact between the Philippines and Australia was slow. It seems to have begun with Wise and Company of Manila buying Australian horses in 1820.

Another link was the Manila dollar. In the early days we had no currency in Sydney other than the silver peso of the Philippines, probably the proceeds of the horse trade.

Our next contacts were with sugar. In the 30's and 40's, before Negros had its own refineries, they used to send their sugar down to the Colonial Sugar Refinery in Sydney. Then just before 1850 Negros got its own refineries. The friendly relations between the two groups and exchanges of visits and information have continued ever since.

Our contacts were at first limited to trade. But soon in the cultural sphere there were several exchanges. Even before the first World War, boys from Manila occasionally came to Australian schools.

An Australiaan held a Chair of English in the University of the Philippines in the late of 20's—Tom Inglis Moore, one of our most brilliant scholars and poets. A whole generation of Philippines writers have paid warm tribute to their studies with him. He wrote on excellent novel about Ifugao life in the mountain province and also a play on university life in the Philippines.

Another contact was through the Institute of Pacific Relations under its Chairman, Judge Manuel Camus, with whom the sister Society in Australia had close ties.

Just before the War the first series of debates between Philippines and Australian Universities were held at the U.P. and the Ateneo when an Australian team including the late Chester Wilmot (famous War correspondent and author of "The Struggle for Europe") and Alan Benjamin, well-known Melbourne lawyer, debated against Francisco Rodrigo, now Senator, and Leon Maria Guererro, now Ambassador in London. The War interrupted this series of exchanges which are to be resumed early next year.

It was the second War which definitively brought the Philippines and Australia together—in tragedy, and in final victory. Australians remember with profound gratitude the five months' stand at Bataan and Corregidor which threw out the Japanese schedule and gave Australia breathing time. It was to Australia too that the President of the Philippines, the great Manuel Quezon, first came when he left Corregidor.

From Australia too was mounted the great movement under General MacArthur which swept north again to liberate the Philippines.

Since the War we have remained allies. Our links under the SEATO Treaty which bears the name of this city and the plan which bears the name of the city of Colombo, entail constant visits and exchanges in the cultural and economic spheres. Our National Science Development Board, our hospitals, our doctors and nurses, are in constant contact. One fine development is the growth of regional organisations—cardiological, ophthalmological. Let us hope for similar rapid developments in the diabetic and metabolic spheres, and in neuro-surgery, both of which are under way already.

Whatever the future holds for the great Pacific basin, it will mean constant contact and co-operation between Australia and the Philippines.

It is not hard for the Philippines and Australia to get together. They have so very much in common. At this corner of the Pacific, both peoples have been closely linked with Europe and the United States. They are also linked together by the fact that one is wholly a tropical country and the other is a sub-tropical country with its northern third actually in the tropics (which is not the case with either the United States or Europe, not even Andalucia or Sicily or the isles of Greece, not even Florida or Southern California).

Above all, they share in common the same religious faith, the English language and the democratic way of life.

CONTINUITIES IN PHILIPPINE SOCIAL CLASS

Frank Lynch, S. J.

Among the leading anthropologists of the younger generation is the Rev. Lynch, a native of New Jersey, who took his doctorate degree at the University of Chicago. He is connected with the Ateneo de Manila, where he teaches, and has been residing here for the past half a dozen years.

Characteristic of Southeast Asia are what some geographers call primate cities.[1] These are cities *sui generis,* cities without equal or rival in their own countries or regions, each the undisputed center for politics, commerce, trade, education, and almost every other important aspect of the national or regional life. Consider, for example, the peculiar significance of Bangkok for Thailand, of Singapore for the Malay Peninsula, of Saigon for Vietnam, of Jakarta for Indonesia, or—most near at hand—the singular importance of Manila in every sphere of Philippine national life.

A disturbing aspect of these great cities is that when compared with the rest of the country they are so big, so interesting, and so convenient that only the most determined traveler escapes to the hinterland beyond them. It is no wonder, then, that some flying visitors, who drop in one week and take off the next, tend to judge the whole by the part, the nation by its primate city. Thus it happens that, to the consternation of not a few thinking Filipinos, the Philippines is dubbed a Little America evolved from a new New Spain, the implication being that she is now twice removed from her pristine heritage and from communion with her Asian neighbors.

This is loose talk, and it cries for qualification. Manila is not the Philippines, and if some six or seven per cent of the nation's population live in this sprawling metropolis, about 80 per cent of all Filipinos live in settlements of 1,000 people or less. Granted the special importance of Manila, most Filipinos still live in the rural areas.

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[1] This is the revised version of a paper read at the Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia held at Manila, November 25-30, 1960.

A discussion of the nature and functions of the primate city will be found in Norton S. Ginsburg, "The Great City in Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 60, No. 5 (March 1955), pp. 455-62.

In view of the population distribution, we have to get outside the large urban centers to discover what most Filipinos are like. Furthermore, while not denying the great changes that have taken place and are at present in process in Manila, Cebu, Iloilo, and other great centers, I take the position that as a matter of fact most Philippine communities are basically the same in social structure as they were some four centuries ago, prior to the first permanent Spanish settlement. To make this point is the main purpose of the present essay, and the procedure is straightforward: a fundamental feature of community structure—the social class system—is described as it now exists and as it once was 400 years ago; it is concluded that no essential change has occurred, and that most of the Philippines, therefore, remains in this very basic respect largely untouched by the events of the past four centuries. If the Philippines is a "Western" nation, then it has been so for a long, long time—along with all of Southeast Asia.

RURAL SOCIAL CLASS TODAY

Of the three modern Philippine settlements that I will discuss, one is a poblacion, and the other two are barrios. A poblacion is a municipal capital; in my example it has a population of about 2,000. Barrios are frequently described as villages, but since villages vary so in size in different countries, they are best described here as clearly rural settlements usually smaller than the average municipal capital, or poblacion.

The three communities under consideration are all rural or semi-rural in the sense that their populations are quite small, and the services which they provide for their members are limited in number. As we look at each of these settlements our focus will be on how the residents see themselves and their fellows as belonging to two or more sets of people who differ somehow in kind; and on how they rank these sets of people as superior and inferior.

Canaman Town

The town that I know best in the Philippines, and about which I am least likely to make glaring errors, is one in which I lived for a year (1956-57), sharing the home of a Filipino family, and which I visited frequently for an additional eight months. Its name is Canaman, a poblacion located in the lower Bikol River Plain in southeast Luzon, about 140 miles or an hour's DC-3 flight from Manila. Canaman's 2,000 people live in a little more than 300 houses on a peninsula of residential land that juts out into a flat sea of wet-rice fields. From the plaza of the town there is easy access by bus to Naga City, five kilometers away.

Aside from children, the only things of importance raised in Canaman are chickens and rice. Yet it is not simply an agricultural community: out of ten household heads, only four consider farming their primary occupations. Again, a good number of people, workers and students alike, spend the day outside the municipality, particularly in nearby Naga City. Hence, Canaman, which is all but fully engaged in a money economy, is somewhere between a peasant community and a dormitory suburb.

I had not been living in the town very long before I noticed that the external differences marking off some people from others did not occur at random, but were associated with one another in predictable fashion. There were, in other words, clusters of differences. Men who wore white or good leather shoes were also the men who never wore blue denim trousers or patched khaki shorts, who smoked cigarettes or cigars but never chewed betel nut, and who did not hesitate—like the other kind of men—to invite me into their homes. And the homes of these well-shod, white-trousered citizens were very much like the one in which I lived, a structure of solid lumber roofed by galvanized iron in good repair.

When typhoons struck the Bikol region in December 1956, Canaman took its share of punishment. It was flooded and windblown, and before long the floors of many of the smaller bamboo and nipa homes were awash in the rising waters. And where were the people who owned these little houses? Safely bedded down in the salas and bedrooms of their relatively wealthy neighbors. In our own big house, for instance, we gave shelter to many of the men, women, children, and babies of our corner of town. Once it was clear that the typhoon was a bad one, they began showing up at the door in a matter-of-fact fashion that seemed to say, "We are in trouble again, and here we are." When they were taken in without hesitation, they accepted the welcome as no more than their due. No fawning, no great show of gratitude, just a simple encampment.

This mutual understanding of each one's place in the community showed itself in other ways. When people came to Canaman to ask contributions of rice or money, for themselves perhaps or for some other cause, the route they travelled was always the same. It was the same route, in fact, that the traditional Christmas eve procession took, and its way stations were the same: the homes of the relatively wealthy. I am sure that those who solicit funds in this manner would have been visibly shocked if they had not been received with courtesy and some generosity. Frequently our own home was visited by barrio relatives and less fortunate fellow-townsmen in search of some goods or service expected of my hosts or myself.

On the other hand, people who lived in the big houses were at ease in asking favors of a manual nature from the *bakya* and betel nut set: to run an errand, slaughter and butcher an animál for a fiesta, take a newly acquired goat or pig to the farm and raise it there, carry a heavy package to or from the bus stop in the plaza, climb a coconut tree to cut down some young nuts, or make some minor repairs on the house. Canaman is a community, I thought to myself, where everyone knows just what and how much he can ask of the other fellow.

In order to get a more refined understanding of this system of mutual dependence, I used analytic methods familiar to sociologists and anthropologists alike. The results obtained from interviewing twenty people selected as raters of the other members of the community were an indication that the town was composed of two social classes, for the picture that we derived by a series of calculations was, in broad outline, two diamonds, one on top of the other.[2]

The next step was to see if the people who fell into the upper diamond were characterized by possessions, or occupations, or behavior that was significantly different from the group that had been placed in the lower diamond. A good starting point seemed to be those criteria of higher social standing that had been mentioned most frequently by the rating panel. Ownership of land, for example, was mentioned by nineteen out of twenty raters as an indication that a household head had high social status. When we studied the closeness and significance of association between land ownership and placement in the upper diamond, or social class, we found objective confirmation of the difference between the upper and lower class.[3]

When we looked a little closer at the criteria of higher social standing that our raters had mentioned, we noticed that the first eight most widely mentioned criteria contained a common element. This element could be defined as security derived from an assured and adequate income. After defining such an income in local terms, we sought the association between upper class placement and this kind of income. Once again, the association was close and significant, further proof of the real difference between two sets of people in the community.[4]

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[2] For a more detailed explanation of the Canaman study, see Frank Lynch, S.J., *Social Class in a Bikol Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Philippine Studies Program, 1959).

[3] The coefficient of association (Yule's Q) between upper class membership and land ownership was +0.85. Chi square was 28.61; df, 2; and p, less than 0.001.

This kind of statistical operation is important, for it serves as a check on uninhibited and categorical impressions. Nonetheless it reveals only the bare skeletons of the social class structure, while flesh and life are best provided by the protracted and unremitting observations of the ethnographer who lives in the community. From this source came not a static graph of one diamond balanced on another, but a dynamic picture of two people helping each other in turn.

During the year that was spent in Canaman, I frequently heard the labels "big people" (*dakulang tao*) and "little people" (*sadit na tao*) used in conversation. When the prestige panel study was completed I found that townsmen usually referred to as "big people" had been placed in the upper diamond while the "little people" fell into the lower. Each class, moreover, had its own responsibility, each was expected to do certain things for the community, or suffer the consequence of community displeasure.

In the socio-religious aspects of Canaman's yearly cycle, prominent townsmen prove they are worthy of their place by providing the wherewithal for traditional observances. Religious processions are a case in point. These processions, which are important in the people's mind not only for the protection and well-being of the community, but for its entertainment as well, feature colorful images and floats. The religious images are owned by upper class families, but ordinarily carried or pulled by members of the lower class. At annual fiesta time the "big people" furnish the stipend for the novena of Masses said before the town feastday. On the day or days of the yearly fiesta, the homes of the upper class receive prominent visitors with the hospitality corresponding to the "big people's" personal pride, local loyalty, and sense of courteous obligation. In the kitchens and back yards of these homes, however, the same sense of values, channelled by a personal bond to a particular host—be he landlord or relative or both—brings together working teams of "little people" who have brought some gift from their barrio farms and are now busy in the slaughtering of chickens and pigs, the cleaning of fish, the preparation of rice and vegetables, and the cooking, finally, of a banquet designed to honor the guests, the hosts, and the "little people" alike.

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[4] Chi square was 70.60; df, 2; and p, less than 0.001.

Each district of Canaman town sponsors and conducts at least one novena during the month of May. The barrio lieutenant and his council annually draw up lists of those barrio residents who will be responsible for the sung prayers and procession, but especially for the repast that follows, on each of the nine successive nights of this so-called *Santakrusan.* Upper class people are regularly posted for the last night, the climaxing *katapusan,* or finish, since they are expected to treat the barrio to an evening worth remembering—a substantial selection of delicacies, and perhaps even a dance with orchestra or record player.

When evening celebrations such as the climax of the *Santakrusan* were held, they took place somewhere near the home of a prominent townsman, within extension-cord reach of his electrical outlet. Of more than 300 houses in Canaman, only 29 had electric lights, and only 19 had more than a single outlet. By holding the barrio gathering near the residence of one of the "big people," the organizers were assured of power to illuminate the scene and to operate the record player and public address system. It was unthinkable that one of the "big people" should refuse to furnish *gratis* the electricity that was needed.

This attitude, this conviction that the upper class people are obliged to render certain services to less fortunate members of the community is manifested again and again in the life of Canaman. One of the most striking consequences of this expectation is the fact that the few "big people" who possess radios must on certain evenings (when favorite programs are on the air) keep them running full blast near an open window for the benefit of the neighbors and passersby. To play the radio softly would be selfish and would lower the esteem enjoyed by the household head and his wife.

As landlords, "big people" do more than own the land that is worked by their tenants. They give moral, medical, and economic assistance whenever they are called on. Their homes become for their tenants a law office, a way stop en route to Naga, a restaurant and party hall, and even a hospital on occasions. In return the tenant works the land and hands over an average of forty per cent of the harvested rice to the landlord. He and his family are also on call as cooks or servers, carpenters or cargo handlers, oarsmen or goatherds—in a word, at the beck and call of the landowner for all manner of manual service.

The formal leaders of Canaman—the mayor and councilors, the parish priest and police chief—all rate as upper class persons, as do the doctor and dentist, the teachers and other professionals, and most of the storeowners, rice brokers, rice millers, cottage industry and fishing middlemen, and others having some steady source of income such as a salaried job, a poultry business, or a public bus. In their economic security, manifested if not in great surplus, at least in solvency, people such as these contrast with their lower class fellow townsmen who depend on them in so many different ways. Some of the big people have surplus enough to merit community-wide responsibilities, and these are the elite of Canaman; others are called on only by those of their own kinship or alliance group. But both the elite and the marginally upper class residents are recognized as being on the other side of a line from the lower class, and the two social classes are functionally related for the maintenance of community stability. For better or for worse, the system works.

Barrio Esperanza

The two-class structure of the poblacion, as found in Canaman, may be compared with the kind of system seen in two recently studied lowland Philippine barrios. The first of these barrios is Esperanza of Western Leyte, which was studied by Dr. Agaton P. Pal of Silliman University (1956); the other barrio is Manalad, of Negros Occidental, studied by Dr. Willis E. Sibley, now at the University of Washington at Pullman (1957, 1958). Neither Pal nor Sibley speak explicitly of social classes in these barrios—they were concerned with other aspects of the community—but we can examine their reports to see what indications there are of the existence of such strata.

Esperanza has about 2,000 inhabitants, while Manalad has less than 400, yet if there are in these barrios social classes similar to those in Canaman, we may expect to find in the descriptions of both villages some evidence of a number of individuals who are distinguished qualitatively from their fellows. Furthermore, this difference in kind will be based on the possession of economic surplus and closely related power over men. Those who have these qualities (the upper class) will assume, or be able to assume, financial and political responsibility in a variety of affairs undertaken by the community, or by families other than their own. Their leading and dominant position will be, in other words, more diffuse than specific, and more persistent than transitory: they will regularly volunteer, be called on, or at least have the wherewithal, for various kinds of economic assistance, hospitality, and personal patronage favoring the community at large or relatively many members of it. They will stand out as the donor-sponsor group par excellence.

In his chapter on leadership in barrio Esperanza, Pal enumerates (1956:421) eighteen "leadership types," nine found in the barrio itself, and nine found on the municipal level but functioning in the barrio.[5] Four of the latter are government positions whose incumbents have limited contact and negligible influence in the barrio (424-26): agricultural extension agent, sanitary inspector, school nurse, and school dentist. The posts of mayor, chief of police, municipal councilor, and parish priest, on the contrary, while presupposing or conferring an assured and adequate income, also give those who hold these positions much influence in the barrios of the municipality. As in Canaman, each of these officials in Matalom poblacion has power in his own right over the residents of the municipality—barrios included—and his word carries weight, moreover, with his fellow officials on the municipal level and above, as well as with other prominent individuals. The last of the municipal-level leaders listed by Pal is one whose position is not contingent on a place in the formal political or ecclesiastical structure. He is an affluent "person of influence in the town" (380) who "acquires a following by establishing ceremonial kinship ties with families in the barrio" (422). This person, whom Pal calls the "influential *compare,*" is also found in Canaman; as in Matalom, the mayor, councilors, and chief of police are among those who qualify for inclusion in this category.

Residing in barrio Esperanza itself are nine kinds of leaders (421), but only four appear to be candidates for the kind of upper social class found in Canaman: barrio *teniente* (or lieutenant), kinsman-spokesman, *hermano mayor,* and school teacher.[6] At the time of Pal's field work (1954), the barrio lieutenant was a partisan official appointed by the mayor as "a reward for his support of the party" (422). Aside from interest in party politics, another selective factor reduced the number of candidates for this post. Since the *teniente* receives no salary on the one hand and must, on the other, be generous in time and hospitality toward all official and otherwise prestigeful visitors to the barrio, only those with economic surplus are interested in the position. If this surplus is expended during his term of office, the *teniente* consoles himself with the realization that he has increased for a time his political power in the barrio and his bargaining power outside it. Every time he successfully intervenes on behalf of a law-threatened barrio-mate his local support is strengthened, and as his strength grows, so grows the leverage he can exert in future requests to elective government officials and other prominent townsmen. The barrio lieutenant ordinarily is, then, a man of some substance and power.

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[5] In Pal's Table 23 (1956:421) the chief of police is actually given as a local, rather than municipal, leadership type, but I presume this placement was not intended by the writer.

[6] The other five are disqualified, it seems to me, by their having little or no economic surplus or significant socio-political influence, or by their rendering only very specific, short-span assistance. One or more of these impediments apply to the traditional doctor, midwife, masseur, situational group leader, and leading man in a kinship unit, at least as such, and insofar as they are described by Pal (432-33; 401-05; 429-30).

The kinsman-spokesman is another partisan leader, but he need not, apparently, have an assured and adequate income derived from his primary occupation. His social station is maintained, not by the possession and periodic expenditure of economic surplus, but by his ability to mediate in a manner satisfactory to both parties. By arranging, for instance, mutually advantageous ritual relationships between the influential *compare* of the poblacion and his own client-kinsmen in the barrio (380), the kinsman-spokesman wins the gratitude and indebtedness of the new co-parents. Like the *teniente,* he also intercedes for kinsmen who are in trouble with the law, speaking to his prominent town-dwelling friends on their behalf (422). As a partisan person, the kinsman-spokesman is not so much tied in with a party organization as he is representative of a kin group which is traditionally allied with a particular politically-minded family, or group of families, in the town (423). The kinsman-spokesman may not be rich, even by barrio standards, but he is clearly a power; because he holds a key to the economic surplus of wealthy townspeople, he is, in a sense, *vicariously* wealthy, and his patronage is eagerly sought.

Not everyone in the barrio can become an *hermano mayor,* or chairman of the annual fiesta committee. For just as only the solvent residents of the barrio are interested in becoming a barrio *teniente,* so the candidates for fiesta leadership must have a "sufficient supply of rice which a person can use for the fiesta, possible sources of cash which will enable a man to cover the expenses which cannot be met by the contributions of the people, and [a suitable house] for the entertainment of the priest and the town officials" (430). As insurance against refusal of this costly honor there exists the local belief, supported by well known cases, that prosperity comes to the *hermano mayor,* and disaster to the man who rejects the honor. No one refuses to serve if his name is drawn (*ibid.*).[7] Serving, or being eligible to serve, the community in this annual enterprise sets a limited number of individuals off from their barrio co-residents, marking them as members of a donor-sponsor set analogous to Canaman's upper class.

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[7] This compulsory redistribution of surplus, although rotated among the wealthier members of the community, is nonetheless reminiscent of the redistributive economy described by Alzina (1668) for the pre-Spanish Bisayas. In those days the dato had to validate his station in various ways, among them the giving of periodic feasts for his followers.

Esperanza's seven school teachers occupy a unique position in the barrio: they are in it, but in many ways not of it. None of them is from Esperanza, and most of them spend their week-ends in the poblacion; for them the barrio is a "lonely place" (427), and several of them are transferred to other assignments each year. They are respected and deferred to for their relative wealth, educational attainment, service to the community, and control over the success or failure of children in the barrio school (428), yet they remain nonetheless transient, detached outsiders viewed in many respects as instruments of the government for purposes not fully understood by the people or even, at times, by the teachers themselves. Hence, despite their relative wealth and their situational power, school teachers are not members of the upper class in the same sense as the barrio lieutenant, the fiesta chairman, and kinsman-spokesman.

Barrio Manalad

Manalad, the barrio studied by Sibley, has a population one-fifth the size of Esperanza's, yet a similar distinction seems to exist between the relatively wealthy and powerful on the one hand, and the rest of the community on the other. Evidence for this is found in Sibley's report on leadership (1957) and in his more comprehensive discussion of Manalad's unity and distinctiveness (1958). Thus when a stratified panel of 50 informants was asked to "give the names of those persons who were the real leaders in the barrio" (1957:155), a total of only 17 different names were mentioned, even though individual informants gave as many as four; moreover, agreement was even more marked for just eight (1957:155-56). This suggests that at least eight of Manalad's 71 household heads (1958:28) are widely recognized as different from their fellows; somewhat more specifically, as being "the real leaders in the barrio."[8]

The most highly rated leaders are those with economic surplus and profitable connections with powerful individuals on the municipal and provincial level. Moreover, they *use* this surplus and bargaining power for the residents of Manalad in various ways; for instance, by their appeals to government officials, by their sponsoring folk Catholic and other barrio celebrations, and by their introducing innovations such as the rice and corn mill (1957:157; 1958:120-23, 35). Although all leaders participate at least nominally in a religious group, and possess a large number of kinsmen in the barrio, these traits have little diagnostic value since they are shared by leaders and followers alike.[9]

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[8] Sibley does not define the leadership situation about which he inquired, but I judge that it was (or was taken by informants to be) a context involving one or both of these circumstances: (1) a community endeavor, and (2) seeking assistance from outside the barrio.

The head school teacher is found among Manalad's leaders, and it is likely that the other teachers also have high social status, even though they may not be thought of as important barrio leaders. Nonetheless their position in the community is like that of their opposite numbers in Esperanza: in the barrio but not completely of it. Another leader whose qualities deviate from those of Manalad's most highly placed residents is the 76-year old man who acts as custodian of the barrio's Catholic chapel and organizer and leader of prayer groups (1957:158). His placement among the community's first eight leaders is apparently based to large degree on his religious role in Manalad, because he seems to have neither economic wealth nor temporal influence; his sphere is the supernatural (*ibid.*). If this role is, in fact, the main reason for the old man's high social status, then Manalad residents may give considerably more weight to this function than do the people of Esperanza or Canaman.

Summary

To summarize as briefly as possible the *differences* in social stratification observed in our comparison of these three communities, I will speak of the relative number of residents in each social set, the maximum difference in social status between the highest and lowest ranked members of the community, and the criteria for higher social standing. In Canaman, which is a poblacion, the percentage of upper class people is relatively high (about 32 per cent); from the evidence at hand, this percentage is smaller in the large barrio of Esperanza, and smaller still in little Manalad. The size of the social status gap between the highest and the lowest ranked members of the community is much greater in the poblacion than it is in the barrios. Both this relatively greater span and the relatively larger upper class in the poblacion may be traced, in part, to the relation existing in the Philippines betwen spatial and social mobility: for a variety of reasons, getting up in the world means getting out of the barrio. Hence the more successful villager ordinarily moves on to the poblacion, reducing the number and eminence of the barrio's upper class people, and swelling the lower ranks of the town's upper class.

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[9] Every household for which Sibley has data professes affiliation with the Catholic, Philippine Independent, or some Protestant church (1958:33-34). That both leaders and non-leaders have many kinsmen is suggested by several considerations, and made explicit by Sibley's statement (1958:109) that the claim of informants that "we are all related in Manalad" is "nearly literally true." Perhaps there is place here, as in Canaman, for a distinction between the leader's *alliance system,* or the people he can count on, and his kinsmen, not all of whom may be his allies (Lynch 1959:49-55). Manalad's leaders have more allies, but not necessarily more kinsmen, than Manalad's followers.

A clear difference is seen in one criterion for higher social standing: influence with prominent people outside the community is much more central to the barrio resident's rating than it is to the townsman's. This fact is related, of course, to the differential amount of wealth and political power internal to the barrio on the one hand, and the poblacion on the other. Differences in other criteria of higher standing are less surely identified, but personal abilities and skills, particularly influence with the supernatural (Manalad's chapel head), may weigh more heavily in the barrio resident's favor than it would for his day counterpart in the poblacion.

Despite the differences, there is a *basic uniformity* discernible in the systems of social stratification found in Canaman, Esperanza, and Manalad. In each community there is recognition of a number of individuals set off from their fellows by the possession of economic surplus and power over men. By and large, these two characteristics go hand in hand in the communities we examined, but Esperanza's kinsman-spokesman seems to be personally influential and only vicariously wealthy. He is, nonetheless, in a superordinate position similar to that of the barrio *teniente* and the *hermano mayor;* in this he is a different kind of person from his clients.

This qualitative difference and complementary opposition of function is found, more or less clearly defined, in all three communities. The big people, with their money, credit, land, rice, and better than ordinary housing, belong to the donor-sponsor-host set; the little people, who are ordinarily in economic need, are a complementary set of recipients, clients, and servers.

COMMENTS ON "THE SANUSI MOVEMENT"

Cesar Adib Majul

These are the comments of Prof. Majul on a paper read during the recent Asian history conference in Manila. The author has written a book on the life of Apolinario Mabini, first Philippine secretary of foreign affairs, and is connected at present with the Mindanao branch of the state university.

I want to thank the Philippine Historical Association for the honor and pleasure of commenting on Professor Zafar Ishaq Ansari's paper and also on the general subject of Moslem brotherhoods. Professor Ansari's informative and scholarly paper, besides dealing with a particular historical event in the history of Islam, reveals some of the present problems facing Moslems and points out the basic aspirations and direction of the Moslem world. The genesis of the Sanusi Movement and the character of its founder, so admirably dealt with by Professor Ansari in the tradition of Islamic scholarship, demonstrate the function of Moslem brotherhoods.

All Moslem brotherhoods are essentially organizations for the defense of Islam and its institutions. In this they closely resemble the militant orders of Catholicism, like the Templars and Knight Hospitalers. During the initial expansion of Islam, there were many volunteer congregations (*ribats*) in the frontier of Islam, ready to extend the territory of Islam (*dar al-Islam*). And during the decline of Moslem power, these *ribats* were utilized to prevent incursions into *dar al-Islam*. After the loss of Moslem Spain in 1492, when the danger of Christian arms in Northwest Africa became a frightful reality, many brotherhoods sprung, usually centered around a charismatic figure. Some of these brotherhoods came and went, but the tradition of having such congregations still exist in North Africa. In Morocco, they played important political and economic roles during the last few years of French rule in Morocco, to the extent of being instrumental in the former exile of the last sultan.

However, Islam also witnessed other forms of brotherhoods—the Sufi Orders. Although its members were not, strictly speaking, warriors, they were in a certain sense militant. These communities (*zawiyahs*) were meant to fortify the faith of their members and were centers of doctrinal exposition. They were either organized around a mother house or unaffiliated with one another. Each community had its "way" (*tariqah*). This included matters of doctrine, principles of morality, specific religious exercises, discipline, and details of practical behaviour.

Professor Zafar Ishaq Ansari's paper adequately demonstrates in what manner the Sanusi movement or brotherhood belonged to the tradition of the above two kinds of brotherhoods. However, he is careful to show how it differed from them, explaining, at the same time, why and how these expedient differences came to be. The existence of the Sanusi movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a positive and constructive answer to the fears of Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi, the founder of the movement, that "The lands and territories of Muslims are going away from the hand of Muslims with the speed of lightning. Islam is in a state of frightening degeneration." As explained in Professor Ansari's paper, the Grand Sanusi predicted the expansion of Western imperialism, not only in the Arab World of North Africa and Middle East, but in other Moslem countries. His problem was how to check what he considered the "frightening degeneration" of Moslems in order to meet the challenge of Western imperialism.

The Grand Sanusi's system of *zawiyahs* was composed actually of political and economic units, organized along elementary "governmental" lines, and further integrated by a way of life based on the principles of early Islam. This meant that regardless of whosoever ruled the land, even if they were Christian foreigners, the system of *zawiyahs* would remain intact in its adherence to what was considered to be the pristine Islamic way of life; it would possess, too, an economic system that would make the Sanusis independent of the charity or largesse of the ruling power. In effect, the system of *zawiyahs* was a technique for survival of Islam—both in the material and religious spheres. In this, the Sanusi brotherhood resembled the *ribats* in the defense of Islam. But as Professor Ansari carefully pointed out, the Sanusi brotherhood was not organized primarily for "precipitating any armed conflict with the interested foreign powers." The fact is that it was not in any sense prepared for an offensive war.

The Sanusi brotherhood also differed from the earlier Sufi confraternities in that neither mysticism nor ascetism was emphasized. On the contrary, Professor Ansari emphasizes its practical programs. But certainly, together with the other Sufi fraternities, the Sanusis were for the defense, perpetuation, and invigoration of the Islamic way of life.

But Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi's final dream was the unity of all Islamic countries, probably in the manner of the early caliphates. He looked at sectarian antagonisms, the endless and sterile theological disputes, and the multiplicity of former *tariqahs* as standing in the way of the unity of Islam. And yet, the student of Islam must note that (and here is where a beautiful irony in Islam is found) it was the very nature of the classical tolerance of Islam in accommodating within itself so much diversity of opinion, at least four different orthodox schools in jurisprudence, and different denominations, that made possible the extension of *dar al-Islam*. The Prophet himself said: "The variety of opinion is a blessing to my community." The conception of all Muslims as forcibly belonging to one and only one school of law, let us say, the Hanbali school, is repugnant to the spirit of Islamic tolerance and history.

It is to be conceded that the recreation of Moslem society along stricter Islamic tenets might bring about a greater consciousness for the need of resistance to foreign penetration. But it is to be wondered at, if the "decline" of Moslems was brought about simply by religious laxity or an abandonment of the religious law (*Shari'a*). The loss of Spain was more than compensated by the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. And in spite of the disastrous Mongol invasions, internecine wars, and later on western occupation, the fact is that Moslem communities have, in general, remained Moslem. There must have been an inherent strength somewhere. What is more amazing is that the identity of such communities persisted, in spite of the lack of an organized clergy, and, in some cases, native sultans. The explanation to all these might well be the firm adherence of Moslem communities to the *Shari'a* even up to the beginning of this century. The greatness of the Moslem community through the centuries, even through its political and economic decline, was due to its adherence to definite legal and moral principles, the social values of which is at par with those of any other monotheistic religions.

Actually, with the weakening or disappearance of the Abbasid Caliphate and the fragmentation of *dar al-Islam* into many sultanates and other caliphates, and regardless of the absence of the use of the power of the state for the protection of Islam, the Moslem community acted in such a way as if the imamate were still alive. It was with the decline of the political fortunes of Islam that closer adherence to the *Shari'a* and orthodoxy was emphasized, not without some danger of fanaticism. It is no accident that conservatism in Islam was a concommitant of the decline of its military and political power. But it was a rigid conservatism that was believed to guarantee the perpetuation of Islam. The indifference to later political upheavals coupled with intransigence in the adherence to the religious law and to the shadows of certain Islamic institutions is most clearly seen in the eleventh century as revealed by the words of Al-Ghazali:

> "There are those who hold that the imamate is dead, lacking as it does the required qualifications. But no substitute can be found for it. What then? Are we to give up obeying the law? Shall we dismiss the *qadis,* declare all authority to be valueless, cease marrying and pronounce the acts of those in high places to be invalid at all points, leaving the populace to live in sinfulness? Or shall we continue as we are, recognizing that the imamate really exists and that all acts of the administration are valid, given the circumstances of the case and the necessities of the moment? . . . The concessions made by us are not spontaneous, but necessity makes lawful what is forbidden. We know it is not allowed to feed on a dead animal: still, it would be worse to die of hunger. Of those that contend that the caliphate is dead for ever and irreplacable, we should like to ask: which is to be preferred, anarchy and the stoppage of social life for lack of properly constituted authority, or acknowledgment of the existing power, whatever it be? Of these two alternatives, the jurist cannot but choose the latter." (Quoted from: Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation.* p. 168.)

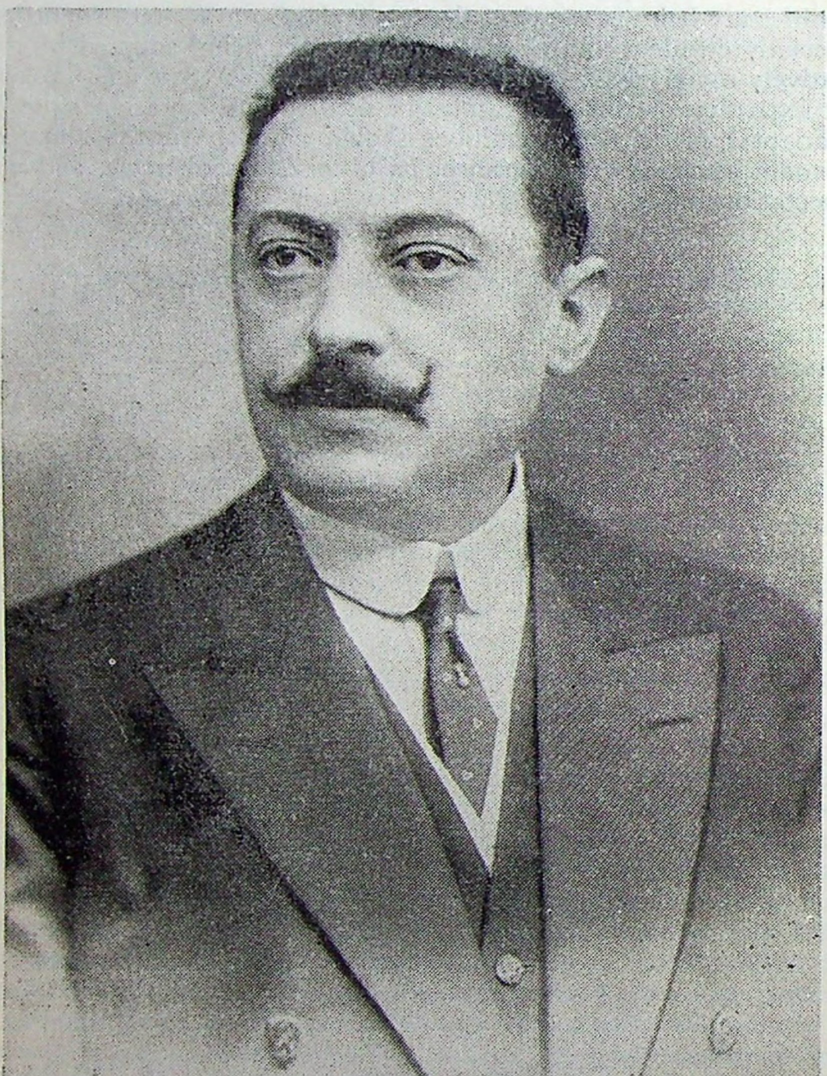
This digression means, therefore, that the political decline of Moslem countries was due not simply to a laxity in their Islamic traditions but simply to their industrial backwardness. The fact is that the Industrial Revolution was a European invention. The Moslem countries were left behind in this momentous historical transformation. To be mentioned too is that numerous foreign wars against the Crusaders, and later on the Monguls, brought about the destruction of irrigation projects, inherited and developed from ancient times, and a general decline in population. The decline of Moslems was primarily an economic decline.

However, it must be repeated that an Islamic consciousness might make the Moslems more willing to meet the Western challenge and defend themselves more intensively; but as the Grand Sanusi himself noted, no defense could be adequate as long as the Moslems were materially and militarily weak *vis-á-vis* the European powers. But if the immediate problem was to preserve Islam, certainly it is no exaggeration to state that the *zawiyahs* organized by the Grand Sanusi preserved Islam for the tribes of the Libyan desert. It was the difficulty the Italians met in trying to assimilate the Libyan tribes affiliated to the Sanusi movement that forced the Italians to adopt a policy of extermination towards the Sanusis. In this policy, the Italians failed. This failures was a test of the farsightedness of the Grand Sanusi. And more than this. The missionary activities of the Sanusi brotherhood in black Africa has never been appreciably matched by Christian missionaries in the neighboring areas.

Professor Ansari's treatment of his subject, besides being very thoughtful, is both analytical and of great historical value to students of Islam and north Africa. One wishes that he would have brought his treatment of the subject up to the present, mentioning, among other points, the fate of the Sanusi family; the ascendency of King Idriss, one of its scions, to the present throne of Libya; the political power of the Sanusi in North Africa, especially Libya; and the former struggle of the Sanusis against the Italian invasion.

Nowadays, there are so many independent Moslem countries and a great multitude of widely scattered Moslem communities, that to make a generalization about Islam in the Modern World is to be incautious. If one were to judge the constellation of brilliant writers that have tried, since the end of the last century up to the present, to re-evaluate the function of Islam in modern society, one cannot but surmise that it is a symptom either of a renaissance or a time for decision for Islam.

The problems raised by Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi are essentially those raised by Abdel Wahab, Jamal ad-din al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abdu, Sayyid Ameer Ali, Muhamad Iqbal, Muhammad Husain Haikal, Shaykh Muhammad Ashraf, Taha Husain, Muhammad Kurd 'Ali, 'Abdallah 'Ali al-Qasimi, to take a more recent one, and others. These are the problems: how can Islam recapture the glory of its historical and cultural past? What has made Islam what it is today? How can Moslem countries preserve their institutions in the face of Western influence? Whether a reinterpretation of Islam is needed to meet changed conditions in a world beset by industrialization, etc. However, it has to be emphasized that the historical and political context of these questions have changed from the time of the Grand Sanusi. Most Moslem countries are now independent states. The problem of the Caliphate is a dead issue. Nationalism has become a new factor in the Moslem world and new values and loyalties are emerging. Slow but by-passing movements are relegating details of the *Shari'a* into the limbo of the past. Customary laws of different Moslem communities are being strengthened while codes from Western countries, especially criminal and commercial ones, are being adopted by the relatively more advanced Moslem countries like Egypt and Turkey. But regardless of all these, it must be pointed out that Islam's power to adapt itself to new conditions should never be underestimated. Its main assets are its tolerance, its history, its adherents, and our expectations of it.



Antonio Graiño Martinez
(1870-1945)

THE GRAIÑO COLLECTION

Luisa Cuesta

To any researcher desiring to consult the rich collection of Filipiniana in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the author of this article is the logical official to see. She has always been helpful to all scholars from the former colonies of Spain, and has prepared a comprehensive list of Filipiniana titles which remains unpublished for lack of funds.

With the destruction of Manila's famed Tabacalera, the Zulueta and the Pardo de Tavera collections during the last war, undoubtedly the largest existing collection of Filipiniana in the world can be found today at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

This library, the official depository of the Spanish government, received a valuable addition to its items about the Philippines when the Biblioteca de Ultramar was closed earlier this century after Spain had lost the last of her colonies in the war against the United States of America.

The Filipiniana section was further enriched some years ago when the Spanish government acquired—after the Philippine government muffed its chance—the famed collection of the famous Madrid bibliophile Don Antonio Graiño Martinez. This latest acquisition consists of some of the rarest early books printed in or about the Philippines, led by the famed *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala* by Fray Francisco de San Joseph, O.P., and printed in Bataan in 1610 by the prince of Filipino typographers, Tomás Pinpin.

This collection is particularly rich in Philippine linguistics: of the 862 items comprising it, 330 are printed in some native language or deal with grammar. Chronologically, 72 items were printed in the seventeenth century, of which 27 are the only known copies extant; 171 of the eighteenth century; 390 of the nineteenth; and 37 of the twentieth.

Five of Pinpin's works are represented in this group—all of them extremely rare—while his son Simón, who continued in his footsteps as a printer, also has five of his books included covering the period from 1649 to 1669. Other early native printers included in this collection are Jacinto Magarulau, Raimundo Magisa, Luis Beltran, and Capitán Gaspar de los Reyes. The places of imprint range from Cebu and Iloilo to Binondo, Sampaloc, Dilao, Guadalupe, and Tambobong. The collection includes another Pinpin imprint: the first Spanish vocabulary of the Japanese language by the Dominicans of Santo Tomas University, dated 1630.

The Philippine government had a chance to acquire this valuable compilation several years ago when the executor of Graiño's estate, Don Carlos Sanz, the historian and a friend of the Filipinos, offered it to the Philippine embassy in Madrid for $75,000. This price was one-half what the Franco government was willing to pay for it. The Philippine Congress promptly passed an appropriation bill for its purchase, but when the negotiations were being completed, it was learned that somebody in the embassy had reported to Manila that the selling price was ₱75,000 instead of $75,000; and since Congress had appropriated only ₱75,000, the deal fell through. The Spanish government gladly bought it at the seller's price.

It was said that a touring Filipino millionaire who was in Madrid at that time offered to meet the price demanded by the owners, but unfortunately he sounded so haughty and overbearing that they refused to sell it to him at any price!

The original owner of this collection, who started it late last century, was Antonio Graiño Martinez, an admirer of Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar and other Filipino patriots who were agitating in Spain for reforms in the colony. He was born in 1870 in the small Asturian town of Santiago de Villapedre, near Luarca. He loved books even as a child, and this liking developed into passion in his later years. His brother-in-law, Victoriano Suarez, had opened a bookstore in the downtown district of the metropolis in 1858, and eventually Don Antonio became its manager. Incidentally, this bookshop still exists today at 42 Calle Preciados, just behind the Hotel Capitol on the Gran Via, which is very popular with present-day Filipino tourists.

In line with his business, his interest was aroused on the bibliography and history of the Spanish empire, with particular reference to the Philippines. An earlier collector and bookseller with whom he was on familiar terms was the late Pedro Vindel, whose Filipiniana collection was sold mostly to the American millionaire, William Ayer of Chicago, and now forms part of the Newberry Library. Don Pedro admits that his interest in Filipiniana arose from his friendship with Rizal, who encouraged him to collect books about the archipelago. Don Antonio was too young to have known personally the hero from Calamba.

Don Antonio's scholarly interest bore fruit in a number of monographs he published through the years, such as, *Gramaticos y lexicografos de la Lengua Tagala, Tres Joyas de la Biblíografia Linguistica Filipina, La Imprenta y el Libro en Ultramar Durante la Tutela Española, La Industria del Libro en España y La Codicia del Libro Español en los Mercados Extranjeros,* and many others which were published in various Iberian journals and periodicals during the course of his long and laborious life. It would prove highly interesting to Filipino historians if some researcher translated and published these monographs today.

Owing to Don Antonio's familiarity with Spanish-American affairs, the Spanish government appointed him Spain's consul-general in Honduras, a position he held until 1931, when he requested to be relieved. He was getting along in years and wanted to retire to his beloved books. He enjoyed the company of scholars and spent the happiest moments of his life conversing with them. At first, Don Antonio and his friends gathered at the rear of the Suarez bookstore; later they transferred their meeting place to the Café Varela, and later still to the Granja Florida.

These informal gatherings were attended by men of the intellectual stature of a Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, the historian of Spanish heterodoxy; Armando Palacio Valdes, the panegyrist of the hill country of Santander; Pereda, the chronicler of Spanish arms in Africa; Alarcon, the novelist; men of letters such as Francisco Vera, Giner de los Rios, Americo Castro, and bibliographers such as Vindel and Beltran.

The Spanish Civil war broke up this congenial group, and when the soirées were resumed after war, many failed to show up, having either died in the interval or gone into exile. However, the survivors continued to meet, first at the Hotel Florida and then at the Café Alicante. Don Antonio was among the last to disappear, and then only because an affliction in his foot made walking difficult. In 1945, at the age of 75, he passed away.

Normally affable, Don Antonio could meet haughtiness with equal arrogance. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, which showed itself when a prospective buyer of a rare book offered such a low price that he finally agreed to sell provided a certain engraved plate in the book could be found—knowing full well that the only copy in Europe was in his library. He possessed a moral integrity that would not allow him to stoop to shabby practices. He was a great

Ambeth Ocampo

smoker, and was often seen puffing on big black cigars. He had two loves: books and the region of his birth. He never missed a fiesta of St. James the Apostle in his native town of Santiago de Villapedre, and divided his annual vacations between this place and Luarca.

The Graiño collection was appraised after his death by his friend Carlos Sanz at three million pesetas. His heirs, nephews who now manage the Libreria Suarez, generously offered it at half the price to the Spanish government. As a result, the Graiño collection now forms part of the more than 4,000 titles on or about the Philippines in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, and of which I have been honored as the official in charge.

I would like to call the attention of my friends in Manila that the Biblioteca Nacional possesses one of the three earliest Philippine imprints published in 1593: the *Tratado de la Doctrina,* a treatise in Chinese characters on western attainments, printed in Manila by the xylographic method of block printing. A photostatic copy of the entire book has been furnished a Filipino scholar for possible publication in the near future. The other two are the *Doctrina Christiana en Tagalog-Español* which is in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. and the *Doctrina Christiana China* which is in the Vatican Library in Rome.

BLAIR AND ROBERTSON'S MAGNUM OPUS

Carlos Quirino

The standard reference work on the history of the islands is that by Blair and Robertson. How the pair came to edit this most authoritative compilation is recounted by Prof. Quirino of the history department of Ateneo de Manila University.

To serious students of Philippine history, the 55-volume work entitled "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898," by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, is the main and sometimes only source of original material on the country.

Published some 60 years ago, soon after the beginning of the American regime, it has not been surpassed by any work either by the Spaniards during the four centuries of their rule or by the Filipinos since their independence 15 years ago. The closest competitors to this monumental compilation are, by the Spaniards, Fray Juan de la Concepcion's "Historia General de Philipinas" in 14 volumes printed between 1788 and 1792; and, by the Filipinos, Zoilo M. Galang's "Encyclopedia of the Philippines" in 20 volumes printed in 1953.

Chronologically, this massive history begins with the account of Chao Ju-Kua, the superintendent of sea trade in Fookien in the early part of the thirteenth century, moves on to the day Ferdinand Magellan set sail from Sanlucar de Barrameda in Spain and ends with Governor General Fermin Jaudenes' surrender of Manila to the Americans on August 13, 1898. For five years, Robertson traveled in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, England and the United States visiting the leading national libraries and the collection of monastic orders selecting, copying and annotating the vast data about the Philippines. Then the back-breaking task of translating the material into English was done by the co-authors with the help of several assistants who handled the less important documents.

"The present work," declared the editors in their preface, "is offered to the public with the intention and hope of casting light on the great problems which confront the American people in the Philippines; and of furnishing authentic and trustworthy material for a thorough and scholarly history of the islands . . . All classes of writers are here represented—early navigators, officials civil and military, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and priests belonging to the various religious orders who conducted missions among the Filipinos. To the letters, reports and narratives furnished by these men are added numerous royal decrees, papal bulls and briefs, and other valuable documents."

Aside from the prefaces to each volume and Dr. Robertson's bibliographic notes, about the only original material in the entire set is Prof. Edward Gaylord Bourne's introduction, "valuable alike for its breadth of view and for its scholarly thoroughness," in the words of the editors. Nevertheless, the Yale University professor's frankly hispanophilic conclusions have met with the criticism of Filipino historians, who believed with Dr. José Rizal that Spanish stewardship of the archipelago was not "all sweetness and light."

An American historian, A. Curtis Wilgus, in the book "Hispanic American Essays," a memorial to Dr. Robertson, stresses the importance of the compilation from the American point of view:

"Faced with the task either of governing the Filipinos or training them to govern themselves, the American people were perplexed not only by the enormity of the problem, but by the clash of contradictory estimates of the culture and capacity of the Filipinos. Dr. Robertson and Miss Blair felt the need in the United States for a thorough and intelligent knowledge of Philippine political and social evolution. *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898,* was their answer to this need. By the presentation of authentic and trustworthy material, they sought to cast light on the islands' problems. The repeated attempts of Miss Blair and Dr. Robertson to interpret the modern Philippine scene and to fit it into its historical background constituted an extremely important contribution to the Anglo-American understanding of the people of the islands."

The publisher that supported the undertaking was the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, Ohio, whose offices are now in Glendale, California. Only 500 copies were printed, according to former Director Luis Montilla of the Bureau of Public Libraries. "If I remember correctly," he said, "the cost of the set was about $400, or a little over $7 per volume, which was very reasonable—even at that time."

Considering that each volume contained an average of 350 pages on good paper, the set was a good buy in any language. Two years ago, the publisher sold a secondhand set for $1,500; the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., quoted four times that price to a Filipino scholar intent on acquiring one. Although a

Emma Helen Blair
(*1851-1911*)

second-hand set was sold in Manila for about ₱4,000 five years ago, it now commands a price double that amount—with no sellers. The destruction of libraries in the Philippines during the war has placed a premium on this work, and there are standing orders for used sets from the publisher who scours the length and breadth of the United States for libraries that might be tempted to sell their Blair and Robertson. In this connection it might be added that the international Association of Historians of Asia, under Dr. Domingo Abella, is planning to publish abroad an offset reproduction of this work for about ₱1,000.

The co-authors were qualified for the gigantic task of preparing this compilation. They had labored together in editing "Jesuit Relations,' a still more extensive work of 73 volumes under the editorship of Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Miss Blair, the elder of the two, was assistant editor while Robertson, fresh for college, was proofreader.

Miss Blair was in her fifties when she started work on the Philippine compilation. She was born in Menasha, Wisconsin, on September 12, 1851, and graduated from Ripon College in the same state in 1874. Teaching as a career did not satisfy her and in 1877 she joined the staff of the *Christian Statesman,* a Milwaukee newspaper. She took up graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin in 1892, and later joined the library staff of the Wisconsin Historical Society. She helped in the production of an annotated catalogue of the society's famous collection of 15,000 newspaper files.

In 1894 she resigned from the library staff to work as chief assistant to Dr. Thwaites on the famous "Jesuit Relations." She edited the original journals of the famous American explorers Lewis and Clark before she was made senior editor of the compilation of historical materials on the Philippines. The young scholar, James Alexander Robertson, who worked with Miss Blair on the index of the "Jesuit Relations," was chosen junior editor.

Robertson was born in Corry, Pennsylvania, on August 19, 1873, and graduated with Ph. B. from Western Reserve University in 1896, specializing in the Romance languages. He was proofreader with the Burros Brothers Publishing Company of Cleveland, printers of the "Jesuit Relations" before he was tapped to work with Miss Blair.

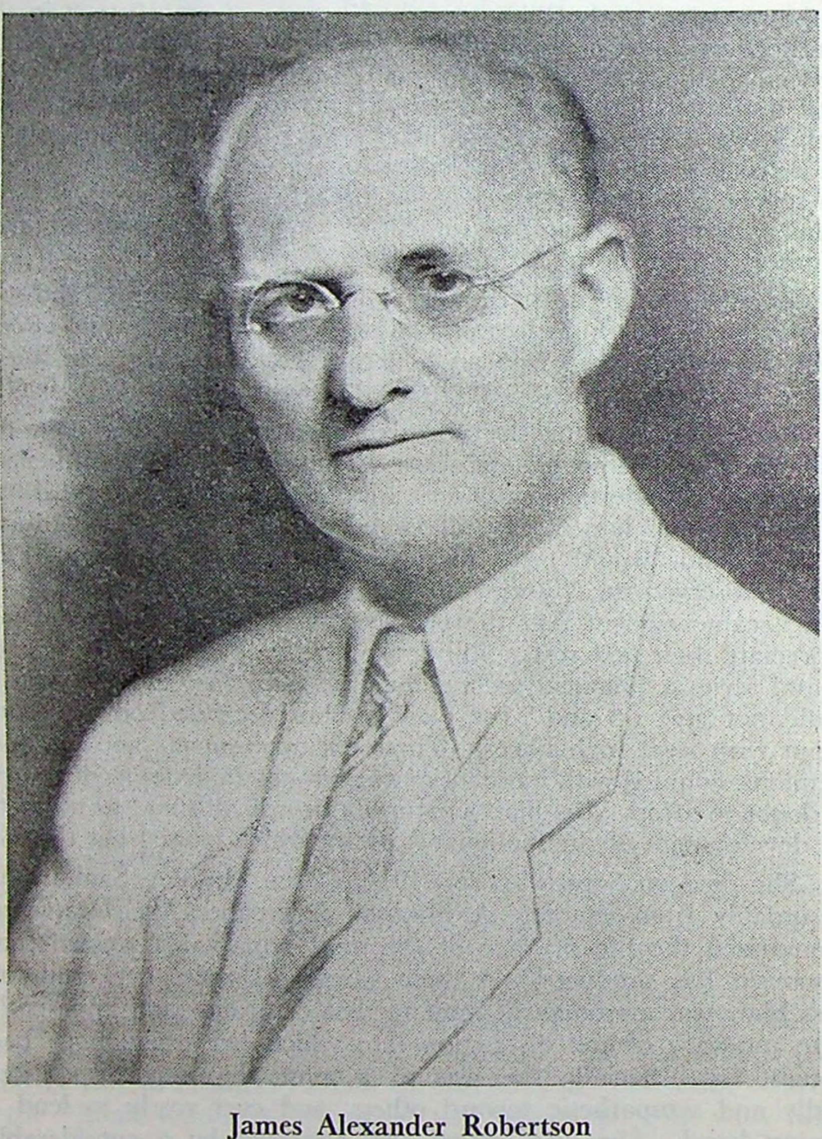
From 1902 to 1907, Robertson spent much time in Europe, searching musty shelves for original manuscripts on the Philippines. He was an assiduous researcher who worked 12 hours daily at his tasks. His biographer, A. Curtis Wilgus, states that he, after an early breakfast at his pension in Madrid, would spend from 7 to 9 in the morning at the Biblioteca de Ultramar, from 10 to 2 in the afternoon at the Archivo Historico Nacional, and without any lunch proceed to the Spanish Academy of History where he would work until 4; after *merienda,* he would spend the early evening hours back at the Biblioteca de Ultramar. When his kindly landlady at the pension learned that this "crazy Americano" did not eat lunch, she served him double his share at breakfast. The story, though, seems apocryphal, as no government office in Spain opens its doors before 9 in the morning.

In recognition of her achievement, Ripon College and the University of Wisconsin honored Miss Blair with honorary degrees; while Robertson was given an honorary literature and humanities degree by his alma mater, Western Reserve University, in 1906.

Public support for the venture, however, was disappointing. Only a few people bought the sets. "The motives which influenced Miss Blair to undertake this work were in a great measure philanthropic, for she hoped the full knowledge of historical conditions in the Islands would assist in solving the problems of governing them," observed an editorial in the *Wisconsin State Journal.* "It soon became evident that the people of the United States did not appreciate their new responsibilities so keenly as to make the monumental series a financial success; but the publisher and the editors would not give up and Miss Blair resolutely carried on the work begun with such high hopes. These disappointments and discouragements, coupled with more intimate personal anxieties, contributed no doubt to affect Miss Blair's naturally firm health and to promote the development of the malignant disease which caused her death."

She died on September 25, 1911, at the Madison Sanitarium, presumably from cancer. A Madison newspaper, the *Democrat,* summarized the life of "one of the most remarkable women that Wisconsin has produced" in these words: "Despite her erudition Miss Blair was a woman of most modest demeanor and apparently quite unaware of the distinction into which her productions had brought her. Socially she was of a most charming disposition, kindly and sympathetic toward others, and ever ready to lend a helping hand. She was known and esteemed by a considerable body of fellow workers in the field of American history."

After finishing the compilation, Robertson worked for a year with the Carnegie Institution in Washington as a historical research-



James Alexander Robertson
(*1873-1939*)

er. In 1910, he was appointed director of the National Library in Manila.

He helped the Philippine Government acquire its Filipiniana collection. He first saw the collection at the office of the Compañia General de Tabacos de Filipinas in Barcelona during his first trip to Spain in 1903; since then, the firm had purchased hundreds of other valuable Filipiniana, principally the collection of Wenceslao E. Retana, the Spanish journalist and historian. When the Philippines purchased it in 1913, the collection totalled 4,623 different titles and was considered the largest single collection of valuable Filipiniana in the world. Retana based his *Aparato Bibliográfico de Filipinas*—the definitive work on Philippine bibliography although it was published over half a century ago—on the books in the Tabacalera collection. The collection was appraised at $100,000, and the Philippine Government sent Robertson to Barcelona to inspect the books prior to their shipment.

From Barcelona, Robertson went to Madrid to attend the book auctions and to Seville to buy old books on the islands. He bought from open-air stalls in the streets of these two cities books on the Philippines for 20 or 30 cents, rare books which would now be worth hundreds of dollars each.

During his tenure as director of the National Library until 1915, he edited the comprehensive "Bibliography of Early Spanish-Japanese Relations," which is still the standard reference work on the subject. In 1917, he joined the Department of Commerce, returned to the U.S. in 1923 to join the faculty of John B. Stetson University in Florida, became archivist of the State of Maryland in 1935. He died of a heart attack on March 20, 1939.

The immense compilation of Blair and Robertson is not free from defects. Filipino scholars have noted that many of the translations are faulty—they do not convey the true meaning of the original text. Oftentimes a literal, rather than an idiomatic, translation was made. It seems the editors were assisted by inexpert translators. Historians find fault with the editors for their failure to include documents of the Propaganda Movement in Europe, headed by Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, Lopez Jaena and other patriots. Little mention was made of Andrés Bonifacio, while Emilio Jacinto was completely ignored.

Since the series covered the entire past history of the Philippines, Filipino scholars have pointed out, why did it not treat the country's pre-hispanic past more extensively? To be sure, the editors included Chao Ju-Kua's description of the Philippines made in the thirteenth century—but were there not other manuscripts, other documents? It remained for Profs. H. Otley Beyer and Austin Craig, both Americans, to fill in the wide gaps of that early epoch in our history. Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, Blair and Robertson's work remains the best and most comprehensive source of historical material on the Philippines during the Spanish regime.

MANUEL T. ALBERO: A FATHER OF OUR CONSTITUTION

Gabriel F. Fabella

The subject of this biography is one of the more important men of Romblon, one of the smaller provinces in the archipelago. We need more of such sketches for the enrichment of our historiography and the *Bulletin* is indebted to its first president, Congressman Fabella, former head of the U.P. history department, for this contribution.

The Honorable Manuel T. Albero holds the distinction of having been elected member of the Provincial Board of Romblon for two consecutive terms (1922-1928), and Provincial Governor in the next two subsequent terms (1928-1934). While he failed to get elected Representative in 1934, he was chosen in the same year by the people of Romblon as delegate to the National Convention that framed the fundamental law of the Philippines. It is his role as "one of the fathers of the constitution" that makes his other notable achievements less significant. The governorship of a province is attainable by anyone, but it is given only to a very select *few* to write the constitution of the land.

There is another unusual honor that Albero enjoys. He was the first "outsider" (not born in Romblon) to be elected chief executive of the "land of marble." Since the beginning of the twentieth century only native-born sons had attained that honor as may be seen from the following list of governors: Bonifacio Marron, Francisco Sanz (Lt. Governor), Pablo Mayor (Lt. Governor), Adriano N. Rios, Inocencio Gonzalez, Juan Fetalvero, (Manuel T. Albero)[1] Jose S. Perez, Jose Firmalo, Jovencio Q. Mayor, Manuel Solidum, and Antonio Mayuga. If we bear in mind that as late as 1951 a candidate for governor was defeated on the issue of not being a "native-born son" of Romblon, Albero's achievement in

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[1] Albero was the sole exception. After Marron's term Romblon was demoted to the status of subprovince of Capiz. Restored in 1918 through the efforts of Leonardo Festin, the latter transformed the province into Special Municipalities in 1939. Because of this, Modesto Formilleza beat Festin badly in 1946. Formilleza restored the provincial status in 1947, and Jovencio Mayor was then elected Governor.

1928 becomes more outstanding.[2] We must attribute that unusual feat to Albero's abilities as a lawyer, and as a diligent student of Dale Carnegie's masterpiece, "How To Win Friends and Influence People."[3]

Perhaps, another explanation for Albero's success was his good fortune in having married a girl who belonged to an influential and widespread clan. Her family has numerous relations in the towns of Bantón, Simará, Sibalí, Kalatraba, Odiongan and Despujol (now San Andres). In his many utterances in the three islands (Bantón, Simará, Sibalí), Albero had repeatedly acknowledged this fact indicating in a way his modesty as a politician. Of course the votes of the *Maghali* group alone cannot win an election today, but with it as a solid basis, at that time, the *Maghali* group was a determining factor. The Bantoanon-speaking communities had dominated the Romblon political arena from 1916 to 1949.[4]

Manuel T. Albero has always belonged to the Nacionalista Party. He was one of the three founders of the Nacionalista-Colectivista Party in Romblon when the *Gran Partido* split in 1921-1922. Of course he returned to the old fold when the two wings fused. When the Nacionalista Party was split again over the Hares-Hawes-Cutting Law it was left to Governor Manuel T. Albero to organize the Nacionalista *Pros*. Happily the *Antis* and the *Pros* reunited before the elections of 1935 under the new constitution. Tempered by these controversies and splits, Manuel T. Albero has consistently remained one of the pillars of the Nacionalista Party in the province of Romblon. It is as a loyal party man, and a believer in the principles of that party, that he has devoted his life zealously to the service of his people. Whether in the executive, legislative or judicial branch of the provincial government, it is a known fact that Manuel T. Albero served his people with honor and distinction.

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[2] In 1935 the late Alejandro Fondevilla appealed to the electorate of Simara to vote Fabella Assemblyman by emphasizing the people's support for Albero. He said, "If we voted Albero for Governor and for other positions when he was only cast by the waves into our shores, why can't we vote Fabella who sprang from our own soil?" That statement was actually a tribute to Albero.

[3] In January 1944 (during the Japanese occupation) I was invited by Jovencio Mayor to his home at Ferrol where I stayed two or three days. To pass away the tedious hours he gave me to read Dale Carnegie's book saying that he had been reading it over and over. It was probably for this reason that Jovencio Mayor has become the best politician Romblon has yet produced.

[4] From 1916 to 1949 Romblon was represented in Congress by Leonardo Festin (1916-1935); Gabriel F. Fabella (1935-1938); Leonardo Festin (1938-1946); Modesto Formilleza (1946-1949). Juan Fetalvero was governor (1925-1928); Manuel T. Albero (1928-1934); Jose Firmalo (1937-1939); Jovencio Mayor (1946-1953); Antonio Mayuga (1960- ?). All these belong to the *ASI* group, also known as the *Yagting* element.

Now for a brief biographical sketch.

Manuel T. Albero was born on September 13, 1893, in the town of Capiz (now Roxas City), of a humble but industrious couple, Fermin Albero and Calixtra Azores. Like any ambitious Filipino family his parents were anxious to see their children obtain an education. Hence, they did everything in their power to support Manuel at school. Manuel acquired his primary and intermediate education in his hometown. Desirous of pursuing his studies in spite of financial difficulties, he left his home town in April 1907. When school opened in June, therefore, young Manuel found himself enrolled in the *Instituto de Manila*. He was only fourteen years old. The folowing year he transferred to another high school called *Instituto Filipino*. By dint of stringent economy he managed to make his scanty pension from his parents meet his needs till he finished his secondary education. In 1911 he was graduated from the same school with the degree of Bachelor of Arts with grades of *sobresaliente,* that is to say, with honors.

During his student days he won several academic awards for excellence at the *Instituto Filipino*. He won first prize in several subjects in his class, notably the *History of the Philippines*. In a popular contest on the same subject (Philippine History) he garnered another prize. Then, again, in connection with the Third Centenary of the Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Tomas in 1911, he was awarded *first* prize in the *Certamen Cientifico-Artistico-Literario*. For winning first prize in geometry in another contest, he was the recipient of a cash prize of fifty pesos, out of which he paid his graduation fee for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. With all these honors, Albero became a popular figure in the school campus.

After graduation from the *Instituto Filipino* he landed a job in one of the Manila law offices. This enabled him to pursue his studies at the *Escuela de Derecho* which is now known as the Manila Law College. It was in this school where he earned the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

Having thus acquired the necessary academic and professional preparation, he accepted in 1918 an appointment as Justice of the Peace in the newly-created Municipality of Jones, Romblon. At that time, Jones included the Barrio of Corcuera, now a municipality in the island of Simara. It was during his brief stay as Justice of the Peace at Jones that he met and fell in love with Miss Gloria de Leon, daughter of Don Francisco de Leon of Gasan, Marinduque, and Maestra Maria Perez of Banton, who were then residing at Jones.

After a very short engagement, the young couple were married in April 1920. It was a peculiar marriage in a way, because shortly thereafter, the bride left for Manila to study at the *Centro Escolar de Señoritas.* It was not until after her one-year studies at this school that the couple lived together. They are blessed with only one child, Virginia, a pharmacist married to Dr. Leonardo Lanzona of Odiongan, Romblon, now residing at San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City.

After qualifying in the bar examinations on January 2, 1920, he decided to quit his job as Justice of the Peace of Jones. He saw little prospects in a small municipality, and he was anxious to practice his profession. He set up his law office at the capital of the province and this decision proved to be a wise one.

To augment his income from his private practice he accepted the offer of the Chinese community to become their attorney on a retainer basis. This was a good start for Albero, and the provincial authorities now began to notice him. He was appointed auxiliary Justice of the Peace of the capital, a position which he did not hold long, because it often conflicted with his private practice. Again he had to resign, but his resignation was a blessing in disguise. His clientele began to expand, and he was acquiring much opportunity. His name as a lawyer spread widely not only in the province of Romblon, but also in Marinduque and in Capiz, his home province. Because of this auspicious beginning and good showing as a practising attorney, he was offered the position of Provincial Fiscal of Antique. He did not accept this offer. Politics had alluring possibilities.

His friends and admirers saw in Albero the makings of a good politician and they did not hesitate to launch his candidacy for membership in the Provincial Board of Romblon. Sure enough, in 1922, with the solid support of the "three islands," his loyal friends and relatives elsewhere in the province, Albero won handily. His membership in the Provincial Board of Romblon did not in anyway affect his law practice. On the other hand his clientele increased, and the ambitious board member was gradually preparing himself for greater things. In 1925 he was reelected member of the Provincial board on the Nacionalista ticket as before, but Juan Fetalvero, a *Democrata,* was chosen Governor. There is some parallelism in 1925 in the provincial government of Romblon to the present government of the Philippines. Both members of the provincial board were *Nacionalista* (Manuel Albero and Juan Tansiongco), while the Governor was of the opposition party. Today, President Macapagal is a *Liberal,* while Congress is *Nacionalista.* There was no quarrel between the Governor and board members of Romblon from 1925 to 1928. All of them were working only for the welfare of the province. Perhaps we could learn from that incident! Since the Congress and the Chief Executive are anxious to serve the best interests of the country, right-thinking people of Romblon expect our national leaders to work hand in hand towards the solution of the manifold problems that beset our young Republic. Let the *Nacionalistas* and *Liberals* set aside partisanship in favor of statesmanship.

It must have been that spirit of cooperation rendered by Manuel T. Albero to Governor Fetalvero that endeared him in the hearts of the people of Romblon. In the elections of 1928, therefore, Albero was elected Governor of the Province by a good majority.

During his six years' incumbency as Governor, he can claim credit for the following accomplishments:

1. The filling up of the site and premises of the proposed provincial capitol building;
2. The construction and completion of the Capitol Building itself;
3. The acquisition from the National Government of the Capaclan Swamps for parks;
4. Expansion of the area of Romblon municipality to meet its expanding needs;
5. The transfer of ownership of the two forts—San Andres and Santiago—to the provincial government;
6. The cession of the national warehouse at Luminguid to the provincial government;
7. Construction of the road from the Poblacion of Romblon to Sablayan barrio which facilitated transportation between the islands of Sibuyan and Romblon;
8. Survey and the start of construction of the road between Guinhayaan and Sante Fe;
9. Construction of the road from Cajidiocan to Magdiwang;
10. Construction of school buildings in remote places, such as the Jones Elementary Building. Connected with the school building Governor Albero constructed the biggest water tank in Banton island;
11. The organization of Corcuera and Magdiwang into regular municipalities;

12. The adjustment of provincial and municipal properties: the present provincial high school site and buildings formerly municipal property were exchanged for the former "comandancia" owned by the province. On that site now stands the three-story elementary school building constructed with funds secured by Governor Albero from Senators and representatives: Senators Belo and Ledesma and Representative Festin gave P15,000 each from their pork barrel funds.

From this list, it must be evident that Mr. Albero has left permanent "footprints" on the Romblon sands of time. He should be counted as one of the more successful chief executives of the province, and actually, one of Romblon's benefactors.

Cognizant of his invaluable services to his people, Albero was elected one of two delegates of the province to the Constitutional Convention in 1934, the other being Antonio J. Montesa. Just exactly what did he accomplish in the convention is our next point of inquiry. Did he make use of his opportunities to serve the Filipino people? The verdict of history is definitely in the affirmative.

Delegate Albero participated actively in the deliberations on the convention floor. The records of the convention proceedings make several mention of the Romblon spokesman. He was most particularly active as a member of the Committee on Executive Power. He presented several precepts among the most important of which being the proviso—"that the President of the Philippines shall exercise supervision over local governments only when so provided by law." Accepted by the Committee and the Convention, it was incorporated into the body of the constitution. It is on the basis of that proviso that Congress enacted the Local Autonomy Act. Indirectly, therefore, Delegate Albero was the "father" of the local autonomy bill.

Mention should be made of Delegate Albero's active participation in the proposal to create a Court of Appeals. He joined the opposition forces on the ground that while said court was probably needed, the matter had better be left to the National Assembly. The opposition carried the day, and Albero should be credited with that particular part of the constitution.[5]

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[5] An acquaintance from Gasan, Marinduque, whom I introduced to Albero long before World War II, afterwards remarked to me, "So Governor Albero is not much taller than his father-in-law, Don Francisco de Leon." I replied, "Albero is a small man, but his height (4 feet and 11 inches) is no handicap. Napoleon was a small man, so are some of our great men like Carlos P. Romulo, Vicente G. Sinco, and others. Don Francisco was a farsighted man. He married a big woman (Doña Maria), and their son, Dr. José de Leon, is almost five and a half feet tall."

While Albero was active mostly in committee work he also took part in the debates on suffrage. He actually delivered speeches against woman suffrage, and his arguments were well taken. He was not certain whether woman suffrage could help the country much, or whether the women actually desired suffrage. According to his observations Filipino women with very rare exceptions were not interested in politics. For this reason Albero favored instead the proviso for a plebiscite to find out whether or not the women desired the ballot. That proviso was incorporated in the fundamental law, and as a result of the plebiscite in 1936 more than 400,000 women cast their votes in favor of the proposition. In 1937 the women in the Philippines voted for the first time. Albero acquiesced in the will of the women.

With the termination of the work of the convention on February 8, 1935, Mr. Albero went into temporary retirement from public life. He did not practice law much, but attended to his farm at Barrio Mabini, Corcuera, Romblon. He was only a little over forty-one years old and at the prime of life. Would he refuse another call to duty?

And the call came on May 11, 1939. He was prevailed upon to accept the position of Justice of the Peace of the Jones-Corcuera-Concepcion circuit. He was serving in this position at the outbreak of the Japanese War (World War II in the Pacific). Then on May 7, 1943, Judge Albero received an order from the Honorable Tomás Confesor appointing him Judge of the Court of First Instance for the Province of Romblon. The order was transmitted to Albero through Jose Firmalo, Supervising Deputy Governor of Romblon. While it was another challenge to his patriotism, and a distinct honor on his part, Judge Albero could not organize the Court of First Instance. The Japanese had already penetrated the island province and the massacre of many innocent people was continued. There were, of course, other reasons for the failure of the new court of first instance to function, but theoretically, Judge Albero continued to act as Justice of the Peace for Jones, Corcuera and Concepcion during the duration of the Japanese occupation. After liberation, Judge Albero continued serving the same court until 1956 when he was appointed to another circuit, Despujol-Corcuera. He served in this latter capacity until his retirement on September 13, 1958, on his sixty-fifth birthday.

Incidentally, it may be worthwhile to get an insight into some of the social and civic activities undertaken by Governor Albero. His connections with masonry may be cited as an example. He probably was induced to join that organization in view of the fact that many of those high in the government service, in business, and in society were members of this Fraternity. The brotherhood has always stood for the triumvirate of ideals—liberty, equality and fraternity—and at that time when the Filipinos were campaigning peacefully for independence, the masonic organization helped in the campaign. National leaders, such as Manuel L. Quezon, Manuel A. Roxas, Jose Abad Santos and others were masons. Judge Albero was initiated as member of the Walana Lodge No. 13 at Manila, which was of course under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of the Philippines. He served as secretary of this lodge for sometime, but with his transfer to Romblon, he had to sever connections with the Walana Lodge. In 1923 while serving as Provincial Board member of Romblon, he became closely associated with the Marble Lodge No. 58, and served as Worshipful Master (president) of the said lodge for three consecutive terms. This lodge, however, was disorganized as a consequence of the outbreak of World War II. In spite of his masonic activities, however, Governor Albero did not lose his faith in Catholicism. To this day he has remained a devout Roman Catholic.[6]

As a retiree, Manuel T. Albero spends the evening of his life humbly but contentedly on his modest farm at Corcuera, Romblon. This does not mean that he has lost touch with the people of Corcuera, or for that matter with the people of Romblon. He is president of the Board of Trustees of the Corcuera Academy at Corcuera, Romblon; president of the Board of Trustees of the Parent-Teacher Association of Corcuera; and vice-president of the provincial Parent-Teacher League of Romblon.

Judge Albero finds time to help his townsmen: he gives advice to town officials who seek his counsel, and to people who consult him on legal and even family problems. Life in a small provincial town being as it is—rather monotonous at times—Albero comes to the city as often as he feels doing so. His only daughter Virginia resides at Quezon City, and the grandchildren (three of them now) long to see their grandfather often. Albero, therefore, has a good excuse for frequenting the city. He is a model grandfather.

There is one event that he never misses, and that is February 8th, the anniversary of the final approval and signing of the Philippine constitution in 1935. The event is of such transcendental importance to this country that Albero has never missed the occasion. He was present during the 25th or silver anniversary celebration of the Constitution at the GSIS auditorium by the Philippine Historical Association.[7] He also attended the last birthday party in 1960 of the late Don Claro M. Recto at Pasay City that falls on the same day (Constitutional Day).

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[6] This writer asked a friend at Washington D.C. whether masonry is compatible with Catholicism. Dr. Isabelo Villaroman categorically asserted that the two things are compatible, and pointed out to himself as an example. He is a mason but when I was there, he and I frequented the GONZAGA church at the nation's capital.

In retrospect it may be said that Albero's career was characterized by "hard knocks and happy breaks." In fact his example could be an inspiration to our youth. In spite of poverty he was able to forge ahead, animated as he was by a healthy ambition to make good, and to serve his country and people. He did not hesitate to go to Romblon because he thought it was a "call" to service. Some young people today would not go to Mindanao because they say that Mindanao is far away. But who knows whether by going to Mindanao new vistas of life would open? Suppose that Albero did not accept a job at Jones, Romblon, where would he be today?

We have often heard and read of statements like "we cannot keep a good man down," "there is always room at the top," and other such inspirational messages. At the same time we must be practical in analyzing situations; for example, the case of Manuel T. Albero. Suppose that Albero had remained at Capiz? Could he have become Governor of Capiz province? Was is possible that he could have been elected delegate to the constitutional convention? With all due appreciation of Albero's ability and integrity, it would seem that he could not have done so. In Capiz, specially in the congressional district to which the town belongs, certain prominent families control politics. The Acuñas, Picazos, Dinglasans and others, are too rich and powerful that a poor man like Albero would have had little or no chance at all. In other words the coming of Albero to Jones, Romblon, was a turning point in his life. In the province of Romblon he discovered himself, and very likely it was there that he fulfilled God's mission for him in this earthly life.

To this day the people of Romblon, and particularly the young people, have neglected and in fact almost forgotten the roles that some of our own leaders like Manuel T. Albero have played in our historic past. We must remember the past since it is the prelude to the present. We should acknowledge the roles being played by our present leaders, but that acknowledgment and appreciation of the present should not blind us to the need of knowing the living past. Cicero once said, "one who does not know his past is forever a child." Lest we remain children all our lives let us be history-conscious and history-minded. A study of the achievements, and even of the failures of our past leaders is of utmost importance to the future of our country, and of course, of our own province in particular. We may obtain inspiration from them for their good deeds, and we could profit from their mistakes and failures. The careers of Rios, Albero, Festin, Fetalvero, Gonzalez, Perez and others may be fruitful studies for the youth of Romblon.

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[7] Former Governor Miguel Cuaderno of the Central Bank, one of the "seven wise men" of the convention was guest speaker.

For the present, the town of Corcuera, Romblon, is indeed fortunate to have among its inhabitants a man of such rich experience, a man of such intelligence, a man of such enviable record of fruitful service to our people. Albero will reach his sixty-ninth year on September 13, 1962, but he is as spritely as a man of forty, and that is the way Albero feels. He aspires to live more than eighty years, and he is likely to outlive his expectations. Albero is a moderate man, that is to say, he never does things in excess. Albero can therefore render more service to his people when called upon to do so. At least that is the record he left behind—never to shrink from a "call to duty." Like a good soldier he will surely serve in any capacity that he is capable of. Let us not forget that Albero belongs to Romblon's group of "elder statesmen," citizens who never hesitate to help the country and people. Truly, to the Simaranhons in particular, and to all Romblomanons in general, Albero is a living example of "a poor boy who made good."[8]

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[8] The author of this sketch is indebted to Jose Yap's interesting though very brief biographical account of Albero; to Virginia Albero Lanzona, his daughter who should know her father; to friends whence he secured much information; to Albero himself who granted many interviews from which much spice was added to his personal knowledge of the man that he had known since 1919. Jose M. Aruego and other delegates added some information on Albero's role in the convention.

MANILA IN 1819

Lt. John White, USN

Probably the first description of the islands by an American was made by a navy lieutenant, John White, who left Salem, Mass. in January, 1819, for a trip around the world. His sojourn in Manila has been taken from the London (1824) edition of "A Voyage to Cochin China." Of special interest to modern readers is his prediction that "the sacred flame of liberty" might soon "shed its joyous light upon the remotest and most inconsiderable islet of this archipelago," thus antedating the Spanish writer Sinibaldo de Mas by almost a generation.

From the 18th to the 24th of June [1819] we were employed in working to the southward along the coast, it having been determined to pass far to windward of the group of islands and shoals called the Paracels, which we thought would probably ensure us a free wind to Manilla; and at the latter date having gained the latitude of 14° north, and being then in sight of Quin-hone city, we took a departure from the coast of Cochin China, and shaped our course for Luconia. We had pleasant weather and regular land and sea breezes along the coast, with a strong current setting against us to the north-west.

The monsoon, which we had anticipated would at this season be regularly set in throughout the China sea, became faint on the 26th, and the wind veered to the eastward, in which quarter it continued until the 5th of July, when we made the island of Mindoro, one of the Philippines; but the wind continuing in the eastern quarter, and very light, with frequent intervals of calm, we did not enter the bay of Manilla until the 9th, on which day, at 8 o'clock in the morning, we passed the island of Corregidor, which is situated in the entrance of the bay, nearest to the northern shore: between which two is the usual ship-channel, called *Boca chica,* although the passage between the island and the opposite shore, named *Boca grande,* is good and frequently used.

We were boarded by a barge from Corregidor, in which was an officer attached to the marine service of the Philippine islands, to enquire our character, news, etc.; which information, thus obtained, was, as in all cases, when the weather permits, transmitted by a line of telegraphs, distributed along the southern shore of the bay, to Cavite; and from thence to Manilla.

The weather was fine, with a good breeze from the south-west, and at noon we descried the spires of the churches, and other prominent objects at Cavite, emerging from the line of the eastern horizon; and as we approached rapidly, trees, towers, and ships, and, finally, the town of Cavite, with the ruinous bastions and tottering battlements of its military works rose to our view in quick succession, in proportion to their respective elevations. The whole line of coast, for several leagues on each side of Cavite, was now visible; and to the left arose, in dark and melancholy grandeur, as viewed through the medium of an atmosphere pregnant with exhaled vapours, the lofty pinnacles and massive towers of the imposing city of Manilla.

At two o'clock, afternoon, we anchored in the harbour of Cavite, and were presently boarded by a boat from the arsenal, in which was a health-officer, another of the custom-house department, and the director of the telegraph; this trio, after receiving satisfactory answers to their respective enquiries, in regard to our health, commercial character, and views, and what news we had brought, which were with great gravity committed to paper, gave us free permission to land at Cavite, or to proceed to Manilla, in any manner which might suit our inclinations or convenience; recommending however, a passage by water in the barge then alongside, in which they had paid their visit; and when the patron, or master of the boat, who was present, declared that he was to proceed early on the following morning to Manilla, and would with pleasure call for *el capitán,* should he think proper to adopt that mode of conveyance, his invitation was accepted.

Cavite, which is the port of Manilla, contains also the marine arsenal, and is the naval depot of all the Spanish possessions in the East: it is situated on the eastern extremity of a low, bifurcated peninsula, of a semilunar shape, which extends into the sea, about three miles on the south-east side of the great bay of Manilla, and terminates towards the east. Between the two extremities or points is the outer harbour of Cavite, where merchant ships generally lie. It is tolerably safe, though of no great capacity or depth, the deepest water being four fathoms, and that only in the outer and most exposed situations; the general depth is from two to three and a half fathoms. The western point, called Point Sangley, i.e., China point, is composed of coarse sand and broken coral, with a few stinted shrubs scattered on its surface, and is constantly extending itself into the sea by the accumulation of shells, pebbles, broken coral, sand, and other substances, thrown up by the waves; and the time is remembered, by some of the inhabitants of Cavite, when it did not reach its present limit by more than one hundred fathoms. It is so low, that on approaching the harbour from the westward, it is not perceived, till quite near; which circumstance would convey to a stranger, unacquainted with the topographical situation of Cavite, an idea that the vessels at anchor in the harbour were riding on an open coast, without any shelter from the offing.

In the concavity, formed by the sweep of the peninsula, on the south side, is the inner harbour of Cavite, where the men of war, galleons, and other vessels in the service of the government and the Philippine company, are moored, and are well sheltered from the oceanic winds. It possesses, however, no advantage, in point of depth of water, over the outer harbour; and the larger vessels, while swinging at their moorings, frequently sweep the bottom, which, however, being composed of soft ooze, seldom occasions any injury.

The castle of St. Philip, a regular, and once a formidable fortress, defends the town, which is about three-fifths of a mile in length, and less than a quarter of a mile wide, and is built chiefly of wood, on account of the frequent recurrence of earthquakes. The houses, almost universally, are of two stories, with verandas round the upper one, where the inhabitants dwell, the lower parts being appropriated as stores, coach-houses, and other offices. There are few glazed windows in the houses, a substitute for glass being found in a species of semi-transparent pearl oyster-shell, similar to what I have seen used in Arabia for the same purpose. The churches are spacious, and in good style, but bear marks of decayed grandeur: there are also several convents, though thinly tenanted. The marine hospital, both in regard to the building and its government, seems to have suffered less by neglect than any other establishments in the place.

The number of inhabitants in the town is about four thousand, which is somewhat less than one half of its population not half a century since. In short, Cavite, once flourishing and populous, is now the mere shadow of its former respectability.

The arsenal is on the south-eastern side of the point on which the town is built, and overlooks the inner harbour. It is constructed on an extensive and excellent plan, and possesses great facilities for building, repairing, and equipping the largest ships: but the increasing poverty, apathy, and neglect of the government, with the devastating hand of time, have combined to stamp on every feature of this once noble and magnificent establishment the rude and melancholy characters of desolation and approaching ruin; and the visitor, instead of being saluted with the busy hum of industry, the cheerful sounds of various implements of the mechanic arts, and crowds of people employed in the several occupations of a dock-yard, finds himself ushered into the cheerless abodes of silence, and the "demon of ennui:" and the sallow and meagre visages of the few half-payed, half-starved, and half-dejected officers, in tarnished uniform, who, like so many spectres, flit by him, or meet his view, in listless groups, exhibiting the most striking assemblages of half-subdued pride, profound gravity, and forced resignation, proclaim, in a language the most emphatic, these objects as the legitimate vassals of the gloomy domain.

The country adjacent to Cavite is very fertile; and the neighbouring sea abounds in a great variety of excellent fish: the bazars are consequently well supplied with animal and vegetable food, and various kinds of the best fruit of India and China. The air is mild and temperate generally; the mean range of the thermometer at noon, for two months, being 83° of Fahrenheit, from which it but seldom varied three degrees, and never more than five on either side.

Very early on the following morning, the barge in which I was to proceed to Manilla came alongside of us: it required but a few moments to prepare for departure; at sunrise we were half way to Manilla; and at eight o'clock I was seated at breakfast in the family of Mr. Stuart, the American consul.

The island of Luconia is the largest and most important of all the Philippines; it is of an oblong, obtuse angular form; lying the general direction of south-south-east, and north-north-west, and the angular point is on the west side. The northern section is the broadest, being in the widest part forty leagues over, from east to west, but its average breadth is considerably less than this. The fine bay of Manilla, thirty leagues in circumference, is situated near the middle of the west side of the island, and has good and clear anchorage in all parts of it, excepting on a coral ledge, called the shoal of St. Nicholas, which is the only invisible danger in the bay . . . .

The island of Luconia contains seventeen provinces or jurisdictions; at the head of them we find that of Manilla, in which is situated the capital of the same name: this city lies in 14° 36′ north latitude, and 121° 21 1-2′ east of the meridian of Greenwich, and is built upon the eastern border of the bay, upon a point of land formed by the sea, on the south-west, and by the river Pasig on the north, and is well situated for defence.

The climate is temperate, and the most healthy of all the islands. The beauty of the surrounding country, the pleasant river Pasig, which fertilises the delightful meadows, through which it meanders, with a full proportion of other amenities, render it one of the finest spots in the torrid zone. The city is of no great extent, its circumference being about two and one-eighth miles, its greatest length from south-east to north-west is less than three-fourths of a mile, and its extreme breadth from north-east to south-west is a little than three-eighths of a mile, and contains somewhat less than eleven thousand inhabitants. At the southeast extremity is situated the citadel and fort of Santiago. The fortifications are regular, and in a tolerably good state; the river Pasig bathes the walls of the city on the north side, and communicates with both ends of the fosse or moat, which encloses it on the other sides. Manilla has six gates; that called Parian communicates with the suburbs, at the junction of the river with the fosse on the east side; St. Lucia and Postigo are the two corresponding gates on the south-west side, and front the bay. Puerta Real is in the south-east quarter, and opens on a fine extensive parade ground, called the Campo de Bagumbayan; Almacenes and St. Domingo, the other two gates, open towards the river, upon a sand flat, and overlook the suburbs on its right bank. The sally-ports, or gates of Parian, St. Lucia, Real, and Postigo, have handsome arched bridges thrown over the fosse, with piers and arches of hewn stone, which were constructed in the years 1814, 1815, and 1816.

The communication between the city and the north suburb, or Parian, is by means of an elegant bridge over the Pasig, about four hundred and twenty feet long, and twenty-two feet wide; it was first constructed in 1630, of wood-work, placed on stone pillars; but was greatly improved and strengthened in 1814, by stone piers; and the superstructure, which is now entirely of that material, rests upon ten elliptical arches, of various diameters, lessening gradually from the two centre ones, towards each side. This magnificent work was built by order of the city council, under the direction of Don Yldefonso de Aragon, colonel-commandant of the "Royal Corps of Engineers." The head of the bridge next the city is guarded by a small fort, and *corps de garde,* from which point commences the

Ilmado, a pleasant and refreshing walk, near the border of the fosse, and extends quite round by the sea-shore to the confluence of its western end with the river; it is planted with fine trees, arranged in an elegant and tasteful manner.

From the Ilmado, a number of handsome raised walks of causeways branch off in various directions, and communicate with the neighbouring villages. A fine road passes by the parade-ground of Bagumbayan, and extends near the sea-shore, quite to the town of Cavite, on which the traveller is regaled with many fine views and beautiful landscapes.

The garrison of this place is said by the Spanish inhabitants to be proportionate to the extent of the fortifications, and sufficient for its defence, and that of Cavite; I am, however, far from coinciding with this opinion. The troops, which are mostly natives of the island, are generally well-clothed and disciplined, and make a tolerable appearance. All the necessary works for a garrisoned city are within its walls; extensive magazines were erected in 1686, besides which are a hall of arms, or armory, a repository for powder, with bomb-proof vaults, and commodious quarters and barracks for the garrison. There is also a furnace and foundery here, which, although their operations were suppressed in 1805, is the most ancient in the Spanish monarchy; this establishment was founded in 1584, in the village of St. Anna, near Manilla; to the latter of which places it was transferred in 1590. The first founder was a Pampango Indian, named Pandapira. When the Spaniards first arrived at Manilla in 1571, they found there a large foundry, which was accidentally burnt, in consequence of the combustibility of the building and effects, which character applies to all the houses of that period.

The buildings in the city, although not very striking outside, have their interiors handsomely finished, and they possess all those kinds of accommodation and convenience desirable in a warm climate. The lower or basement stories are of stone, and the superstructures of wood, on account of earthquakes; around these are either verandas, balconies, or abutting windows, with handsome wrought-iron railings, which, being embellished with various exotic and native plants, tastefully arranged, and exhaling a delicious odour, are the favourite morning and evening lounges of the inhabitants.

The city is divided into regular squares, and great attention has been paid to the locations of their churches, whose domes command, in every direction, the most agreeablle views and extensive prospects. The great square is a regular quadrangle, measuring on each side two hundred and eighty-four feet, and presents three noble edifices; the cathedral, the government-house, and the consistorial palace.

The cathedral, or "Church of the Immaculate Conception," situated on the south side of the square, is a noble erection, and highly finished. The government-house, or "Palace of the Governor-general," occupies all the west side; its style of architecture is tolerable, and its extent great; it was enlarged and improved in 1690.

The Consistorial Palace stands on the east side of the square, opposite the government-house: it is spacious, and boasts a superior style of architecture to the other edifices in the square. It was begun in 1738, and was four years in building. Next to these fabrics, the most worthy of notice are, the church and convent of the Calzados Augustines, a magnificent temple, and the most ancient in the city; its arches and stalls are carved in the most curious manner; (this religious order was the first which came to the island); the Franciscan church and convent, which is a handsome building, and has within its precincts a well-proportioned chapel for the Terceras, or third order of St. Francis; the Dominican and Augustine churches and convents, and the church and royal chapel of the Jesuits, which is handsome, strong, and in a magnificent style of architecture; its erection and decorations cost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars; it was consecrated in 1727. The charitable order of the "Hospitallers of St. Juan de Dios" had formerly an elegant church in this city, which was thrown down and ruined by an earthquake in 1728; they have at present a chapel, to which is attached a spacious and airy infirmary, or hospital.

There are, in different parts of the city, various establishments, whose object is the education of youth; among which we enumerate a patriotic school for children founded and directed by the citizens, under the protection and patronage of the governor; the "Royal and Pontifical University," where are taught the elements of civil and sacerdotal jurisprudence; the "Royal College of St. Joseph" is contiguous to the convent of the Jesuits, which was erected previous to their expulsion. There is also the "Royal College of St. John of Lateran," for the education of male orphan children. Other establishments, for the education of female orphans, are also in the city; the most ancient of which is the "College of St. Potenciana," for the orphans of Spanish soldiers; and the "College of St. Isabel," where girls are prepared for the monasteries. They are, however, not obliged to embrace the monastic life when they leave the college, a fund being provided for fitting them out in marriage if they prefer it. The convent of St. Clara, or Franciscan nuns, is celebrated for the austerity and rigid observances of its members; and we may add the Beaterio, or religious house of St. Catherine, of the same character as the former. There are, besides these, several schools for the education of the Indians and Mestizos, or Half-castes; and seminaries for the purpose of instructing youth as missionaries to the neighbouring islands and kingdoms.

The constituted authorities for the government of the islands reside in the capital, and consist of a "Captain-general, and Governor of all the Philippines," in whose person are united the functions of viceroy, president of the royal audience, and of the court of chancery, superintendent-general of revenue, director-general of the troops, and naval commander-in-chief. Much greater authority is delegated to him than to other viceroys or governors who represent the Spanish sovereign, in consequence of the distance of his government from the mother-country. He has power to receive, treat with, and make presents to the ambassadors of the neighbouring kingdoms, and to despatch others to them; and to make peace and declare war in the name of the king, without waiting orders from Spain. There is also a vice-governor, who at the same time is Teniente de Rey, or king's lieutenant, and "Sub-Inspector-general" of all the veteran troops and militia on the island. In the city is also a "Sergeant-major," two adjutants, and a "Captain of the Keys"; and in the citadel of Santiago is a "governor of the Castle," with his adjutant; the former of whom also enjoys the privilege of "Regidor" (or mayor) of Manilla. In this military post there are also the quarters of the brigade of *Forzados,* or galley-slaves, a set of desperadoes, who, for various malefactions, principally murder, are doomed, for certain periods, to the most ignominious slavery, being chained together in pairs, and constantly kept at hard labour on highways, bridges, walls, fortifications, and other public works: they are perpetually under the surveillance of a certain military corps, raised for that purpose, and of tried fidelity. Among these unhappy wretches, was pointed out to me a lad of sixteen years old, who had murdered his two infant sisters, to obtain a few trifling ornaments, of small value, with which the natives are in the habit of decorating their children.

A detachment of artillerists, and some other troops, are quartered in the citadel. The royal audience and chancery extend their jurisdiction and authority to all the Philippine islands.

The city of Manilla was founded on the 24th June, 1571. Within its immediate jurisdiction, and contiguous to it, are fourteen pleasant villages, or hamlets, (some of which are compounds of two sections), whose names are Binondo, Tondo, St. Cruz, Quiapo and St. Sebastian, St. Miguel, Sampaloc, St. Anton and St. Francisco del Monte, Pandacan, St. Fernando de Dilao, St. Anna, Mandaloya and St. Juan del Monte, St. Pedro Macati, Hermita and Malate, and Pasay. Binondo, the first of these, though classed as a village, is larger than Manilla within the walls, and is the mart and commercial post of Luconia; it is on the right bank of the Pasig, opposite the city, and extends more than a mile in length. The custom-house, magazines, warehouses, and countingrooms of the merchants are in this place; and here many respectable white inhabitants and opulent merchants of all nations reside, and with the Chinese, Tagalos, and Mestizos, compose the population; which, including the villages of Tondo and St. Cruz adjoining and considered as one town, called collectively Parian, amounts to about fourteen thousand.

Many of the houses in this suburb may vie with the best within the walls, in respect to external appearance, convenience, and internal elegance. In point of situation, as regards health and convenience, Binondo possess important advantages. The high walls of the city, and the compact manner in which it is built, prevent a free circulation of air; and to commercial people, the confinement of a garrisoned city, where the gates being shut at an early hour prevent all passing for a great proportion of the time, and render them virtually prisoners during that period, would be very unpleasant and detrimental. In short, Manilla,. within the walls, is rather a gloomy, cheerless place, inhabited principally by haughty and austere patricians, who maintain every appearance of state and ceremony, amidst the solemn grandeur of papal power and monastic observances. Parian, on the contrary, is a lively, pleasant, airy place, and possesses no small degree of commercial activity, with a good society.

The Pasig, at its mouth, is confined within two handsome jetties, or causeways, of hewn stone, which project nearly half a mile into the sea. On the northern jetty-head is a light-house, and on the other a small battery. A bar, or bank, is formed on the outside of the entrance of the river, on which the water is so shallow, that boats are frequently impeded in their progress in and out, which renders it very dangerous in a fresh gale from the westward; the waves, being impelled against the rapid current of the river, impinge violently together on this bar, and cause the loss of many lives by the upsetting of boats. The water is sufficiently deep for ships of three hundred tons, inside the bar, and quite up to the bridge; but European built vessels of that burden seldom attempt to enter the river, on account of the difficulty of crossing the bar; inside of which, however, the river is always navigable for boats, quite to its source, which greatly facilitates internal trade.

In the north-east monsoon, from October to April, which is the fine-weather season, ships lie at anchor a short distance outside the bar, but in the *vendavales,* or rainy monsoon, when the south-west winds prevail, they take shelter at Cavite.

At the distance of about six leagues from Manilla is a beautiful navigable lake, caled the *Laguna de Bria* [Bay], and is the source of the Pasig. It is nearly thirty miles in length, extending across the island to within about twenty miles of the eastern coast; its average breadth is about fifteen miles. In it are several fine islands, which, with the borders of the lake and the banks of the river, abound in the most beautiful tropical scenery. On its south side, near a village of the same name, are several hot springs, called Los Baños, which are said to be medicinal.

The religion of the natives of this and the other islands, who are under the immediate influence of the Spaniards, is Christianity; this is, however, but a small proportion of the population of the whole group, which is said to amount to three millions, of which Luconia contains nearly one third; and it has been calculated that in this island and Mindanao, where the principal part of the Christians reside, there are one hundred thousand, or about one-thirtieth part of the whole population, of which Manilla and Parian contain about thirteen thousand. The greater part of the residue are Mohammedans, and *Igorotes,* or Pagans.

The natives of these islands are generally well made, and bear strong marks of activity and muscular vigour; they are in general somewhat larger than the Javanese, and bear some affinity in the features of their faces to the Malays; their noses are, however, more prominent, and their cheekbones not so high, nor are their skins so dark. Their hair is of a jet black, made glossy by the constant application of cocoa-nut oil, as is the custom in all India, and drawn together and knotted on top, in the manner of the Malays. The women display great taste in the arrangement and decorations of their hair, which they secure with silver or gold bodkins, the heads of which are frequently composed of precious stones.

In the mountains of the province of Bulacan, it is said there is a race of diminutive men, called *Itas* or *Etas,* the tallest of which seldom exceed the height of five feet; they are represented as being very ugly, and it is believed that they are totally without any religious ideas. I was told that they were occasionally seen in the bazars of the interior villages, purchasing cloths, trinkets, etc. for which they pay in lumps of gold ore, which they sometimes find in the mountains, where they live in a savage state, and have but little intercourse with their neighbours.

In the province of Camarines, at the south part of the island, is situated the volcano of Albay, which occasionally emits streams of lava, with cinders, ashes, etc.; and the convulsions occasioned by these eruptions are frequently felt, not only in all parts of Luconia, but in the neighbouring islands.

It is said that there are gold mines in this province; and in several parts of it are hot springs, which possess a petrifying quality.

Many of the rivers, especially those on the eastern side of the island, are infested with large alligators, very insidious and voracious; and the river Ilongotes, in the province of Pampanga, is remarkable for the enormous size and extraordinary ferocity of these animals, with which it abounds.

Some mines of tumbago, or pinchbeck, have been discovered and worked in the middle provinces; and it is said that a silver mine in the Manila district has been privately worked and exhausted.

The geological character of all the islands is said to be very interesting.

A very considerable proportion of the population of Manilla is composed of the Mestizos; they are the offspring of the intermarriages of the Spaniards with the native women, and these again forming connections with the whites, or with the native Indians, (the latter, however, less frequent), combine in stamping upon their descendants a great variety of features and shades of colour: a general resemblance is, however, to be traced, and, waiving colour and manners, a Mestizo could not easily be mistaken for an Indian. This class of the inhabitants is held in nearly the same estimation as the whites. They are very cleanly in their persons, and neat in their dress, which, among the males, consists generally of a pair of cotton trowsers of various colours, as fancy dictates, and shoes in the European manner, a frock or tunic, of striped grass manufacture, worn outside the trowsers, in the manner of the Asiatic Armenians, (but without the sash or girdle), the collars of which are tastefully embroidered, and thrown back on their shoulders; and European hat completes their costume, which is light, cool, and airy, and after a stranger has been a short time accustomed to see, what he at first would call a perversion of dress, his prejudices subside, and he has no hesitation in pronouncing it very proper and graceful. They are remarkably fine-limbed, and well-built, the females especially, who are really models of the most complete symmetry: their hair and eyes, which unlike their skins, seldom vary from the original jet black of their native parents, bestow upon them the primary characteristics of the brunette. This people, unlike the generality of mixed colours in the human race, have been improved by their intermixture; they are more industrious and cleanly than the Spaniards, possess more intelligence and polish than the Indians, and are less malicious and revengeful than either. The men are employed mostly as writers, brokers, agents, and overseers; many of them hold lucrative offices under the government, and they not unfrequently arrive at wealth and consideration. The women are also industrious, and capable of great intellectual improvement: they have a natural grace and ease in their manner, and make excellent wives and mothers. This character must not, however, be taken in an unlimited sense, for we cannot expect this rule to be without its exceptions, and it is true that some of these females do degenerate, and copy after the manners of the creoles, or white natives; but this is only the case when, by their intercourse with the whites, their Indian blood is merged and lost in the European. That part of the population in which is blended the blood of the Chinese and Tagalos, is named the Chinese Mestizos.

The natives are not unapt in acquiring knowledge, neither do they want industry, when efforts are made and inducements displayed to call their powers into action. They are excellent mechanics and artisans, and, as horticulturists, their superiority over many of the Asiatics is acknowledged. They are polite and affable to strangers, but irascible, and when excited are very sanguinary; their natural bias to this revengeful and cruel character is strengthened and rendered more intense by the mistaken doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion, as dictated to them by the designing and interested priests who reside among them. The culprit always finds a sanctuary in the nearest church, till the payment of some pecuniary mulct he satisfies the demands of the priests, obtains absolution, appeases the resentment of the relations of the deceased, and eludes the arm of justice; he grows hardened by impunity, repeats his offences, and again escapes as before.

Much has been said of the cruelty of the Spaniards to these people, but I never saw anything of the kind; on the contrary, in no part of Asia have I seen the natives and slaves treated with more humanity by the Europeans than here; but I was told that this kind of treatment, and even familiar intercourse with their slaves, was the result of fear, and not of any good feelings towards them, and no doubt this is in a great measure the case.

Great numbers of Chinese reside in Manilla; and it is to their proverbial industry that Luconia owes a considerable part of her revenue. They cultivate the sugar-cane and indigo-plant, and manufacture them: they farm some important branches of revenue, which increase under their management. A large proportion of the exports of the islands finds its way to the China market through their means, and the imports from that country are proportionably great; the streets are lined with their warehouses and shops, and filled with merchandise of various descriptions. Their simple mode of living, regulated by the most severe economy, insures them ultimate wealth, as their profits are great and certain.

The name of the natives of the islands collectively, is Tagalo: but the Spaniards divide them into three classes; the first of which are those who are within their immediate jurisdiction, and have been converted to Christianity, these they distinctively call Indians. The Mahomedans are next, and inhabit a principal part of Mindanao and some of the other islands, and are called *Moros,* or Moors. The last, and by far the greatest part of them, are the *Igorotes,* Pagans, and *Negritas,* many of which are very swarthy, and some as black as the negroes of Guinea, and with woolly hair, especially in the *Isla de Negros:* they are supposed by some to be the aborigines of the islands.

The religion, or rather superstition, of the Tagalos, is of the most wild and fantastic character: they worship and pay divine honours to the sun, moon, and rainbow: they are in great awe of the alligator, and build houses on the banks of the rivers for his accommodation, and they frequently sacrifice fowls and quadrupeds to propitiate him. They have priests and priestesses, who officiate at the solemnisations of their superstitious rites, which are performed in caves and dens, where their idols are placed, with incense burning before them. They represent various spirits or genii; as the god of the mountains, the god of the plains, the god of the sea, etc., to all of which they pray, and offer sacrifices, previous to their entering upon their respective territories. Besides these, they have their *Dei penates,* or household gods, who preside over the affairs of the family. They venerate the manes and tombs of their ancestors, and deify those of them who die of old age. They worship inanimate objects; such as trees, rocks, and mountains; and their cosmogony, like that of the Hindoos, is of a most incongruous character. Their weapons are bows and arrows, in the use of which they are very expert.

Their colloquial language, like that of the natives of Java, Borneo, Sumatra, and many other islands in these seas, is a dialect of the peninsular Malay, from whence it is thought they originated; and so striking is its similarity among all these islands, that the natives of each can, in a greater or less degree, understand that of all the others. The characters of their written language differ widely, and great varieties of arrangement exist among them. The Tagalos write from top to bottom on palm leaves and strips of bamboo; and many of the Moors or Mahomedans use the Arabic characters.

To the southward of Luconia are scattered the other islands of the Philippine group, and are very numerous; their number being stated by some at twelve hundred; five or six hundred of which are of importance. The largest and most populous are Mindoro, Calamianes, Masbate, Palawan, Samar, Panay, Leyte, Negros, Zebu, Bohol, and Magindanao, or Mindanao; the latter of which is next to Luconia in point of size and importance: its south point is in latitude 5° 39′ north, a few leagues to the southward of which lie two small islands called Sarangani, the southernmost of which lies in north latitude 5° 20′, and terminates the islands to the south. From this island to Cabacunga point, the northern limit of the island of Luconia, in 18° 40′ north, the difference of latitude is 13° 20′, or eight hundred geographical miles; and the extreme length of the archipelago is more than two hundred and seventy leagues.

The Spaniards have a settlement on the southwest point of Mindanao, called Samboangan, or Samboanga, under the protection of a strong and well-appointed fort. They are also in possession of part of the south coast of the island which is of a triangular form, and cut up in various directions by deep bays, the largest and deepest of which is on the south side, and penetrates nearly to the centre of the island. On the eastern side of this bay, or gulf, is another broad and capacious indentation, called Bonga bay, into which fall several rivers, the principal of which is that of Pelangay; and on this is situated the ancient and fortified town of Magindanao, the residence of the sultan, who is the nominal sovereign of those parts of the island which have not been subjugated by the Spaniards. The governments of those remote from the sultaun's residence are under various subordinate chiefs, called Illano Sultauns, who are independent of each other, and hold their respective territories by the tenure of contributing certain portions of their produce to the use of the sultaun, which consist of rice, cinnamon, gold dust, wax, some pepper, sago, and rattans; the amount and payment of this tribute are, however, uncertain. On the sea-coasts are procured tortoise-shell, birds' nests, and some pearls. Rough diamonds and amethysts are sometimes brought to Manilla from this island.

Mindanao is the Botany Bay of the Philippines, to which convicts are banished.

Many of the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring islands live by rapine and piracy. They frequently make descents on the coasts of their weaker neighbours, and carry off the inhabitants as slaves . . . . . .

The inhabitants of Manilla have long enjoyed the privilege of sending two annual ships to Acapulco, called Galleons Navios, or Register-ships, with the produce of the Philippines, of China, and other parts of Asia; in return for which, they receive various articles of the productions of South America; the principal of which is cochineal, merchandise of different descriptions of European origin, and silver in Spanish dollars and ingots, which compose the principal part of the value of their return-cargoes, amounting annually to about three million five hundred thousand Spanish dollars. A large proportion of this property belongs to the convents in Manilla, whose great revenues not only enable them to engage in extensive mercantile operations, but to lend considerable sums to the merchants on bottomry. For the indulgence in this trade, the proprietors pay a large amount of money to the crown.

These ships were of the burden of from twelve to fifteen hundred tons, and were numerously manned, and well-appointed, for defence; but of late years, since the revolt of the Spanish colonies, which has rendered the navigation of the intermediate seas dangerous to these enterprises, the trade has been greatly interrupted, and instead of risking it in large bodies, private ships of smaller burden have been hired for the purpose of dividing the risk; some of these have been put under foreign colours, though formerly the galleons wore, by restriction, the royal flag, their officers were commissioned and uniformed like the officers of the navy, and the ships were under the same regulations and discipline. The object, however, of the trade in smaller ships has not been obtained, for so great are the fears of the owners and agents of their being captured, and so many restrictions laid upon the commanders, that they lie in port the principal part of the time; so that in September, 1819, the ships of the preceding year had not arrived at Manilla; neither had any been despatched from the latter place for Acapulco, during that time. These interruptions, and, in fact, the virtual suspension of this commerce, will undoubtedly, if a liberal and enlightened policy is pursued, result greatly to the advantage of these islands and the mother-country. Already since the establishment of the Cortes, permitting foreigners to settle permanently at Manilla, great improvements have been made in the productions of the island, and important additions to the revenue. The failure of the annual remittance of dollars from South America to defray the expenses of the colonial government, of which their revenues from the islands were not adequate to meet one-half, has been severely felt, and has stimulated them to make some very unusual exertions. Foreign commerce has been more countenanced in consequence of this state of things, and greater encouragement has been given to the growers and manufacturers of their staple exports; and if the affairs of these islands should in future be properly conducted, the revenue arising from the impost on the single article of coffee will in a few years be amply sufficient to support the government, and leave a net income of the revenue arising from the imposts on all other articles, besides what would accrue from taxes and numerous other resources. A free commerce with other nations would create a competition, and a consequent reduction in the price of imports, and their articles of export would increase, in proportion to the demand for them. In short, nothing is wanting in this beautiful island, but ability to direct, and energy to execute the most extensive plans of agriculture and commerce, which the bounties of the soil, and its excellent climate and situation, would most certainly render completely successful; and instead of being, as at present it is, a burden to Spain, it would become a source of great wealth to her.

In the year 1733, a charter was granted to a body of merchants, who assumed the name of "The Royal Company of the Philippine Islands," with the exclusive privilege of trading to Africa, and countries eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; they were not, however, to interfere with the trade between Acapulco and Manilla. We do not find that this Company ever prosecuted the objects set forth in their charter; and the trade of Spain with the East still ran in its former channel. Again, in 1785, an attempt was made to extend the commerce of Spain with the East, by conferring exclusive privileges on certain persons, who were to be incorporated with the members of the "Royal Caracas Company" (whose charter had just expired), and form one body under the name of the "Royal Company of the Philippines." This project met but little better successes and escapes of their ships in time of war, however, enabled them to fulfill their various obligations to those from whom they had borrowed money, and occasionally to make some dividends of profits to the proprietors.

In 1803, the Company's charter was renewed for a term, to end on the first of July, 1825, but as they have never prosecuted this trade with any degree of spirit, and various subsequent events have materially altered the arrangements of the commercial world, ships from the United States and Europe are permitted to import articles, the growth and manufacture of their respective countries, and of Asia; excepting spirits distilled from the sugar-cane, opium, tobacco, and gunpowder, the sale of which articles is strictly forbidden in the Philippines; the two latter especially, under severe penalties, being royal monopolies.

In Luconia accounts are kept in Spanish dollars, called pesos, or pieces of eight (reals) and *granos.* (Twelve grains make one real and 8 reals 1 peso.)

					r.	g.
The amount of imports of merchandise, the produce of Europe, China, and Asia, in the year 1817, was, Spanish dollars,				1,886,638	2	5
Of specie in dollars, doubloons, and ingots				1,271,144	6	1
Spanish dollars,				3,157,783	0	6
Total amount of imports,				3,157,783	0	6
Amounts of exports, of the produce and manutures of the country	579,273	4	2			
Produce and manufactures of China	663,489	0	9			
Specie, in dollars, doubloons, and bullion,	193,681	0	0			
Total amount of exports				1,436,443	4	11
Spanish dollars				1,721,339	3	7

Balance in favour of imports, one million, seven hundred and twenty-one thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine dollars, three reals, and seven *granos.*

The principal articles of import into Manilla, from America and Europe, are Spanish dollars, doubloons, sheathing copper and nails, iron, lead, tar, anchors, cordage, canvass, quicksilver, brandy, gin, wines, cotton, linen and woollen cloths, cutlery, beef, pork, hams, cheese, dried and pickled fish, paints and oils, fire and side arms, toys, etc. From South American they obtain silver in dollars and ingots, cochineal, copper in slabs, Spanish wines, and various European commodities.

From China and Macao they import China ware, raw and wrought silks, nankins, tea, toys, and other articles.

They also receive from Bengal, Madras, and other parts of India, piece-goods, opium, silk, etc. At Samboangan, on the island of Mindanao, the Spaniards procure in trade with the island of Borneo, and the Sooloo archipelago, various artciles of their productions, most of which find their way to Manilla. They consist of pearls of the finest water, tortoise shell, camphor, gold, birds' nests, pepper, spices, odoriferous woods, and various other articles; and, though rarely, specimens of fine and beautiful wrought cotton cloths, from the island of Celebes, may be purchased; from whence they are brought to Sooloo, by the Bugesses, who are natives of the former.

The staple exports of Manilla are sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton; of the former, the mean annual export of three years, ending in 1817, was seventy-five thousand piculs; and of indigo, one thousand and sixty quintals were exported in 1817, and it was calculated, in 1818, that a favourable season would scarcely supply the merchants with the amount of the expected demand, (two hundred and fifty thousand piculs), and leave enough for the consumption of the island. The exportation of indigo has also greatly increased since that epoch. The production of coffee is yet in infancy, but is rapidly increasing. The cotton is of a fine silky texture, and very white, but of short staple. Some camphor and raw silk are also exported to the United States or Europe.

Of the articles produced in the islands, and the produce of other places, which are re-exported from them, those which are alike suitable for the American, European, and China markets, are bullock hides, buffalo hides, ambergis, straw mats, ebony wood, dye woods, pepper, rice, tallow, tortoise shells, amber, rattans, wax, sinamaya or fine grass cloth, oil, sago, cabinet wood, lard, cocoa, wax candles and tapers, straw hats, alum, tutenague, mother of pearl, abaca hemp, rattan hats, abaca ropes, pearls, gold, precious stones, deer skins, etc. Of articles which are exported to China and Asia, the following are the principal: viz. sharks' fins, dried oysters, dried shrimps, dried beef, deer sinew, sea-weed, beches de mer, birds' nests, indigo seeds, glue, calavances, cowrices, rum, Malabar handkerchiefs, areka nuts, biscuit, cocoa-nut oil, ground nuts, dammer (or pitch), black rope, timber, soap, ploughs, leather shoes, wheat, and tobacco. Ships for South America, besides the produce of the Philippines, take China ware, raw and wrought silk, spices, China toys, etc. and Bengal and Madras piece-goods.

The article of sugar, in 1819, was much reduced in quantity and quality by the ravages of the locusts, which covered the face of the country. It is brought from the plantations in *pilóns,* which are large earthen vessels, — three of them contain two piculs. It is then in its raw state, in which the contractors purchase it from the country people, and clay it in the suburbs of the city, in large buildings called *camarines,* erected for that purpose: they produce three qualities, first, second, and third. It is for the advantage of supercargo, who selects for the American or European markets, to purchase all of the first quality, even at a considerably higher rate, on account of its superior character in those countries, as well as saving of freight. The season for this article is in March, April, May, and June.

Great care and circumspection are necessary in the selection of indigo, purchased of the natives; as they are in the habit of mixing foreign substances with it, such as stones, mud, etc.; and several instances have occurred, wherein the purchaser has been most egregiously duped by these practices. It is also necessary to watch them narrowly, to prevent them from stealing, which they have frequently done after the article had been selected and weighed, and again sold it to the deluded owners. Another mode of deception is practised by them; they will keep the indigo for some time previous to delivery in a damp vault or cellar, to increase its weight by the absorption of moisture, to which its porosity renders it very pervious. The best indigo is produced in the Laguna, or Lake district; and the proper season for it, from all the provinces, is from October to December inclusive: some, however, is received in February and March.

Duties on imports of goods at Manilla are 10 65-100 *per cent, ad valorem;* but the customhouse valuation is so much less than the actual sales, that the amount is small. The import duties on specie are: on dollars 2 1-2 *per cent,* and on doubloons, or *onzas de oro,* 1 1-2 *per cent.* The latter is a good article here, being always current at sixteen dollars: care is however necessary in selecting them for this market: their goodness is tested by ringing, and a discount is made on those which are defective in this respect. None but Spanish coins pass in the island of Luconia.

Export duties are 2 1-2 *per cent* on valuation, excepting the following articles, on which they are specific: viz. sugar, 12 cents *per* picul; indigo, one dollar 25 cents *per* quintal; dollars, 5 1-2 *per cent,* and doubloons, 1 1-2 *per cent.* Expenses on shipping goods are moderate, especially in the fine season, when vessels lie at the bar.

The net revenue, accruing to government for the year 1817, was as follows:—

Amount of poll tax on the native inhabitants of the provinces of Yloco and Pangasinan, at 12 reals each; on those of all the other provinces, at 10 reals each; and on the Chinese Mestizos, at 20 reals each,	—	$ 550,493	6	7
Paid into the *caja de comunidad,* or society box,	—	50,266	5	0
Amount carried forward	—	600,760	3	7
Amount brought over	—	600,760	3	7
Of tax for the maintenance of the convicts at Samboangan,	—	14,937	6	1
Of equivalent for tithes on the whites	—	9,561	1	11
Of land tax on planters,	—	9,026	1	4
Of license to sell paddee,	—	4,690	6	3
Of impost on goods, paid into the custom-house,	—	153,288	4	5
Arising from the tobacco monopoly,	—	400,870	6	1
of cocoa-nut wine excise,	—	153,641	6	11
areka nut, do.	—	18,500	0	0
tax on cock-fighting,	—	25,169	1	9
tax on playing cards,	—	10,102	7	11
gunpowder excise,	—	2,988	7	8
cannon-ball do.	—	10,521	5	8
stamped paper tax,	—	6,271	0	3
excise on rum,	—	483	6	4
capitation tax on the Chinese,	—	28,944	1	6
Total	—	1,449,759	3	8

One million, four hundred and forty-nine thousand, seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars, three reals, and seven *granos.*

In regard to that proportion of the imports of specie from South America, which for several years last past has belonged to the government, it is difficult for a stranger to satisfy himself; as, in the annual official reports, the amount of what is imported on government account, and that which is the property of individuals, are blended together, and announced in one general sum: but it was calculated that in the year 1817, for which our data are the most complete, the sum imported on account of government was about seven hundred thousand dollars, which, with the net revenue, as before stated, amounted to nearly two million, one hundred and fifty thousand Spanish dollars; and this was said to be very insufficient for the support of the government for that year. The increased interruptions of the trade to Acapulco subsequent to that period, as before stated, have reduced the importation of treasure to a very trifling and precarious amount.

> It is to be hoped that the narrow and illiberal policy which has heretofore retarded the prosperity of these fine islands, will necessarily be superseded by more expanded views, and enable them to maintain the rank and importance to which their intrinsic worth entitles them. **The spirit of independence which has recently diffused its influence through the Spanish colonies on the American continent has also darted its rays across the Pacific, and beamed with enlivening lustre upon those remote regions; and the sacred flame of liberty which has been enkindled in the bosom of that country, though for a period concealed from the view of regal parasites and dependents, burns clear and intense; and the time is perhaps not very remote, when it shall burst forth, and shed its joyous light upon the remotest and most inconsiderable islet of this archipelago.**
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> Perhaps no part of the world offers a more eligible site for an independent republic, than these islands: their insular posture, and distance from any rival power, combined with the intrinsic strength of a free representative government, would guarantee their safety and glory; their intermediate situation, between Asia and the American continent, their proximity to China, Japan, Borneo, the Molucca and Sunda islands, the Malay peninsula, Cochin China, Tonquin, Siam, and the European possessions in the East, would insure them an unbounded commerce, consequently great wealth and power; and their happiness would be secured by religious toleration and liberal views of civil liberty in the government. It must be confessed, however, that the national character of the Spaniards is not suitable to produce and enjoy in perfection this most desirable state of affairs: it is to be feared that their bigotry would preclude religious toleration; their indolence continue the present system of slavery, so degrading in a particular manner to a republic; their want of energy paralyse the operations

> of commerce; and their jealousy fetter the efforts of enterprising foreigners among them. No change, however, can be for the worse; and if all the advantages cannot be reaped by them, which the citizens of our republic would secure, it will be better for them to seize and enjoy such as their genius and talents will entitle them to. The Spaniards, however, are not alone in this inaptitude to perceive and pursue the proper measures to realise a pure republican form of government; history furnishes many instances of this fact; and a recent and striking one has been exemplified in France. Whether these failures are to be attributed to moral or physical causes, or both conjoined, it is not my province here to decide. Visionary system-mongers may obtrude their Utopian reveries upon the world; but America presents a practical example of a free government, framed and put into operation by the inclusive wisdom and power of the national, whose prosperity, happiness, and glory, it is so eminently calculated to promote. She, like an insulated, adamantine mountain, whose base is lashed by the impotent waves of the ocean, stands firm, fixed, and erect; aloof from the conflicts of European nations; and, with scarcely an effort, repelling the puny attacks of her enemies; a living monument of the peculiar favour of the beneficent Creator, who called her into political existence, and who, we trust, deigns to direct her councils.

The culture of the coffee-tree requires great care, and no little labour in the East, especially near the equator, where the sun's rays are poured down with intense rigour; as this plant thrives best when partly shaded, the cultivators are consequently necessitated to plant other trees near them, to protect them; and this custom is general in these islands, as well as in Java, Mauritius, and other coffee countries in the eastern hemisphere. In Luconia and Java, a species of the palm performs the office of an umbrella, and in Mauritius they have a tree of very hard wood, called *bois de fer,* or iron wood, which they appropriate to that use. The Luconians have not yet arrived at the art of clearing the coffee kernel from the husk, or cod, which incloses it, but by a very tedious process.

The locusts are a great scourge to these islands; their ravages, however, have been in some degree checked of late years by the exertions of government, which pays a bounty for the destruction of them. The only efficient way of preventing their descent upon the plantations is by means of smoke; for this purpose the natives, during the visitations of these insects, keep fires constantly burning in different parts of their grounds, and their depredations are mostly confined to those places where this expedient has been neglected. Their voracity is incredible, and their taste desultory; but the young and succulent sugar cane is esteemed by them a great luxury.

An instance of the summary devastation occasioned by these invaders occurred while I was in Manilla, in 1819. A Frenchman, who, from various misfortunes in trade, had lost a large property, retired with the wreck of his fortune to this island, where he farmed an extensive sugar plantation, and put it under immediate cultivation. The season was fine; the young plants had come forward, assumed every appearance of health and vigour, and clothed his grounds with the most lively verdure. These auspicious appearances excited in the bosom of the owner the most pleasing emotions, and gave birth to happy presages, and the hope of being enabled to retrieve his fallen fortunes. In this felicitous frame of mind, he was seated at the door of his cottage, with his family around him enjoying the beauties of a fine tropical evening, which was spent in mutual congratulations on the prospects of future independence, to which their anticipations gave rise. On the following morning, the astonishment and agony of the unfortunate planter may be conceived, on finding that not a vestige of vegetation was to be discovered upon his extensive grounds; nothing was presented to his view, but a bare and melancholy expanse of brown earth. The locusts had poured down in legions upon his defenseless lands, and robbed them of their valuable burden.

The year 1819 was peculiarly marked by the visits of these destructive insects. Their appearance is similar to that of a fall of thick snow in a calm, with the exception, however, of difference of colour, which in them is brown, and direction of motion, which is horizontal. They move in a regular phalanx, with a slow, unvarying, silent progress, watching an opportunity to pounce upon the first unprotected spot which occurs. I have passed for hours under swarms of these pests, while riding in the country, and have not unfrequently, for half an hour at a time, been sheltered from the rays of a tropical sun by bodies of them in "thick array," the air assuming the appearance of twilight, or rather that awful, silent, and impressive gloom, which is occasioned by a total eclipse of the sun. Fortunately this is not the case every year, and many years have sometimes elapsed without an invasion from the locusts. A naturalist would probably enter into an elaborate detail of their specific character, habits, etc. I can only say that they appear to resemble externally our large flying grasshopper; they possess, however, the advantage of poising their bodies for a great length of time upon the wing, which the grasshopper cannot do. It has never been satisfactorily ascertained from whence these insects visit the plantations, or where the reproduction of the species is effected, whether in the neighbouring continents or islands, or whether in the mountains and uninhabited parts of Luconia, or whether they emerge at once from the chrysalis state near the places where they first make their appearance? The latter hypothesis is best supported by the circumstance of their simultaneous appearance in places far distant from each other in the island, and their transition never being observed remote from the scene of their depredations. Difficulties, however, occur in this supposition; for if the larva of these insects is deposited in or near the theatre of their ravages, why do sometimes three or four years elapse without a visit from them? Again, why are not they seen at the time of emersion from the aurelia? And further, if they do not migrate, what becomes of these countless myriads, when no longer seen? Upon the whole, I conclude, with deference, that they do migrate, and travel in the night, as well as in the day; of which the before-mentioned case of the Frenchman is, I presume, a clear proof.

The earthquakes in Luconia are apt to produce on a stranger an impression of apprehension of danger; but since the adoption of a mode of building which counteracts the effects of the undulating motion of the earth, and permits the houses to oscillate without separating, no accidents have happened. This frequency renders the inhabitants almost unconscious of their presence.

The water from the wells is seldom used but for purposes of ablution, every respectable house being furnished with a fine cool cistern of mason's work, into which the water falls from their clean tiled roofs; and they are generally sufficiently capacious to contain a supply of water for the family during the north-east monsoon, or dry season. The Indians and poor inhabitants generally use the water of the river for all purposes.

The health of the city and suburbs is proverbial, and the profession of a physician is, perhaps, of all others, the least lucrative. A worthy and intelligent Scotch doctor, who had come to Manilla while I was there, to exercise his profession, and who lodged in the same with me, was greatly annoyed at the want of practice which he experienced there, although he had his full share of patronage, and often jocosely declared that the dom climate would starve him. In fact, he did not long remain there; I afterwards met him in the Isle of France, where he was still in pursuit of practice.

The Ilmado is a beautiful and fashionable resort for the inhabitants in the morning and evening; here you meet all classes at these hours, taking the fresh air, from the viceroy with his splendid equipage and six horses, (which privilege he exclusively enjoys, no other person being allowed more than four horses), to the humble pedestrian who trudges along the side walks. The number of gay equipages of every description, the dark but expressive beauty of the elegant females who occupy them, and the appearance of pleasure and gaiety which is presented on every side, render this a very agreeable place.

The inhabitants are in the constant habit of taking their siesta, or afternoon's nap; and from the hours of two till five, the stillness of night pervades the city; and this custom is so general, that even the lowest tradesmen indulge in their siesta.

Impelled by a very common, and, perhaps, excusable curiosity, I rode out with some friends one day to witness the execution of a Mestizo soldier for murder. The parade ground of Bagumbayan was the theatre of this tragic comedy, for such it may be truly called; and never did I experience such a revulsion of feeling as upon this occasion. The place was crowded with people of all descriptions, and a strong guard of soldiers, three deep, surrounded the gallows, forming a circle, the area of which was about two hundred feet in diameter. The hangman was habited in a red jacket and trowsers, with a cap of the same colour upon his head. This fellow had been formerly condemned to death for parricide, but was pardoned on condition of turning executioner, and becoming close prisoner for life, except when the duties of his profession occasionally called him from the dungeon for an hour. Whether his long confinement, and the ignominous estimation in which he was held, combined with despair of pardon for his heinous offence, and a natural ferocity of character, had rendered him reckless of "weal or woe," or other impulses directed his movements, I know not; but never did I see such a demoniacal visage as was presented by this miscreant; and when the trembling culprit was delivered over to his hand, he pounced eagerly upon his victim, while his countenance was suffused with a grim and ghastly smile, which reminded us of Dante's devils. He immediately ascended the ladder, dragging his prey after him till they had nearly reached the top; he then placed the rope around the neck of the malefactor, with many antic gestures and grimaces, highly gratifying and amusing to the mob.

To signify to the poor fellow under his fangs that he wished to whisper in his ear, to push him off the ladder, and to hump astride his neck with his heels drumming with violence upon his stomach, was but the work of an instant. We could then perceive a rope fast to each leg of the sufferer, which was pulled with violence by people under the gallows; and an additional rope, or, to use a sea term, a preventer, was round his neck, and secured to the gallows, to act in case of accident to the one by which the body was suspended. I had witnessed many executions in different parts of the world, but never had such a diabolical scene as this passed before my eyes; and no little disgust and resentment was harboured by our party against the mass of spectators, among whom, I am reluctantly compelled to say, were several groups of "man's softened image," who seemed to view the whole scene with feeling not far remote, I fear, from that kind of satisfaction which a child feels at a raree-show.

The Spaniards in Luconia appear to be still more bigoted and dogmatical, if possible, than in the mother-country; and the jingling of bells, bawling of monks, and screeching of choristers, with their frequent processions, in which are exhibited the most deplorable superstition and puerile mockery of true Christianity, are most fatiguing and disgusting.

The celebration of the nativity of St. Roque, the patron of a small village near Cavite, in August, was conducted with great pomp and parade; and in the afternoon, after the farce was ended, full scope was given to all kinds of licentiousness and disorder. On these occasions, frequent murders take place; and it is safer for Protestants, whose curiosity leads them to view these rites, to keep their risible muscles in subjection, and those feelings of contempt, which must predominate, from being manifested, and to return immediately after the exhibition. The least accident which might happen, or the most trivial offence, however unconsciously given, would be productive of the most serious consequences; as the Catholic Indians, inspired by fanaticism and cocoa-nut wine, the first of which is inculcated, and the use of the other connived at by their priests, have no hesitation in making a liberal use of the knife on these occasions, to which it is more than conjectured, they are instigated by their masters.

Some of the ceremonies of the church of Rome are, however, very impressive, and calculated to produce serious effects upon minds which are passively inclined to judge of essentials by forms. Of this number is the tolling of the vesper bell, and its concomitant ceremonies, which occurs in the early part of the evening twilight, the gayest part of the day in Manilla, when the sun has sunk below the horizon, and the whole population is enjoying the refreshing coolness of evening: the verandas are filled with cheerful faces, and the lower orders are seated at their doors in careless ease. The Ilmado, crowded with brilliant equipages, and lively company, is then a scene of pleasure and hilarity. At this moment is heard the solemn knell, deep and monotonous! At this potent mandate, in an instant, as if suddenly petrified by the head of Medusa, all is still, silent, and motionless; the animated and loquacious groups, which the moment previous met the view, are now transformed into living statues; the athletic arm of the splendid carriage is arrested in its progress; the labours of the waterman are paralysed, and his slender bark, abandoned to the impulse of the stream, floats unguided on its surface. No sound is heard, but the solemn measured tones of the ponderous bell of the cathedral, which "flings on the hollow blast its solemn sounds"; no motion is visible but the silent vibrations of the lips of the devotees, whispering their *oraciones;* and no feeling apparently predominates, but of deep awe, adoration, and gratitude; this scene is of but a few moments' continuance; at the expiration of which, as if all were electrified, or suddenly recalled into existence, the eye of the spectator is struck with the recurrence of life and animation in the gay pageant presented to his view. All is again in motion, and the feelings which were excited at the moment are probably suspended by the operation of others of a temporal nature, till the next occasion recalls them into action.

These imposing ceremonies and rites, combined with the lax discipline of the church, the facility of procuring indulgence for all kinds of excesses, and absolution for every species of crime, is a great cause of the superior successes to the labours of Catholic missionaries over those of the Protestants, among barbarous people. It is quite enough for them if the proselyte can make the sign of the cross, repeat the Pater-noster, Creed, and Ave-Maria, drop on his knees in the mud, while processions are moving by him, and make a low obeisance to a gaudy wooden image of the Virgin, while passing its shrine.

The Indians are very fond of dramatic exhibitions, in which they freely indulge; and they have itinerant actors, whose acquirements in the scenic art are of a description to captivate the senses of "the million," but would hardly be tolerated by European connoisseurs. They generally represent battles, and "moving accidents by flood and field," in which are displayed the various combinations and desolutory movements of savage warfare. They do not however confine themselves to representations of war and rapine; more touching scenes of tragic horror or domestic misery occasionally employ their powers.

> "Othello rages, poor Monimia mourns,
> And Belvidera pours her soul in love";

Again, the comic muse

> "Holds to the world a picture of itself,
> And raises sly the fair impartial laugh."

Curiosity has occasionally impelled me to witness these performances, where I have met some of the most respectable white inhabitants, who did not disdain to countenance and encourage the exertions of these humble disciples of Thalia and Melpomene.

The vice of gambling is carried to great excess among the Tagalos, and is no unfrequent cause of suicide and assassination. They, like the Malays, are extravagantly fond of cock-fighting, and no care or expense is grudged, in rearing and educating their game-cocks; upon which, after they have lost all other property, their wives and children are frequently betted. Cards, dice, and billiards, occupy no small part of their time, to the gratification of which propensity the greatest facilities are afforded, by the number of gambling houses licensed in every town and village, where vast quantities of cocoa-nut wine, and other liquid poisons, are swallowed. A native, who, as was subsequently known, had committed murder in one of these houses, secreted himself on board the *Marmion;* no enquiry or pursuit were made, however, and he escaped in the guise of a domestic, in which capacity he presented himself to the unconscious commander, who took him into his service.

The use of the areca, tobacco, betel, and chunam for chewing, is universal among the natives, and brings, as has been seen, a considerable sum into the treasury. Besides the great number of shops where these articles are sold, movable stalls, attended by women, are placed in the streets, for the distribution of this favourite masticatory.

Smoking is very fashionable among all ranks, from the viceroy to the lowest cooley, or menial servant; and this favourite propensity is indulged in various shapes, from the neat small cigar, with a paper wrapper, to the enormous rolls of tobacco, used by the women exclusively, and, generally, of the lower classes. I have one of the latter before me, which I procured while in Manilla; it is of a taper form; its length ten and a half inches; diameter at the butt, or big end, two and a quarter inches; and at the smaller end, one and a half inches: it is composed entirely of tobacco, in parallel, compact layers, and wrapped with the largest leaves of the same plant; it is ornamented with bands of floss silk, of various colours, which cross each other diagonally, the whole length of the cigar, and the intersections of the bands are ornamented with spangles; fire is applied to the smallest end of this unwieldy mass, and the large end is received by the mouth; one of these cigars, as may be supposed, will "last you" some eight or ten days' smoking. Pipes are seldom used except by the Chinese.

The Tagalos are very fond of opium, in the use of which they would freely indulge, both by smoking and chewing, but the vigilance of the government precludes frequent opportunities for debauch in this oriental luxury.

The last days of August, and first days of September, were marked by strong gales from the south-west, with vast quantities of rain; during which arrived the *Beverly,* an American ship, belonging to the owner of the *Marmion;* she had attempted to beat up against the monsoon, from Turon to Cape St. James; but after being a long while on the coast of Cochin China, contending with constant south-west gales, she was obliged to give up the struggle, and proceeded to Manilla. This bad weather was succeeded by gentle gales from the eastward, and a clear sky; and the *Marmion* being now ready for sea, on the 6th day of September we took leave of Cavite, and proceeded out of the bay.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1961

Ricardo A. Arcilla

Any human organization, like a chain, is as strong as its weakest link, and the success and failure of this organization depends greatly on whether or not this alleged "weakest link" has active or negative participation in the affairs of the said organization. And I feel proud and happy to report to you that during my short term of occupying this office as President, which is barely five months (having assumed office on August 2), all the members of the Board of Governors showed their unqualified support to our projected affairs and activities. For this matter spoken language would be inadequate to express more fully my grateful appreciation to this Association for the opportunity accorded me, though through constitutional technicality, of occupying the top-most administrative position in our association. While propriety may preclude me from expressing directly my views on the matter, I would simply say that the whole-hearted and unsolicited cooperation of the members of the Board of Governors during this administration has resulted in such accomplishments which equal, if not excel, any previous administration.

If, however, I have to be brutally frank, I would say that the very life of this Association was put to an acid test during the early part of this year; we thought that was the end of it. This was brought about by a strong feeling of attachment to, and love for, this Association. This is the reason why we have this year three presidents serving in rapid succession. There is nothing essentially wrong in love, but John Heywood cautions "lovers" in this language:

Too much love is nearer to hate,
Love me little, but love me long.

A brief review of the major activities and accomplishments of this Association during this year may be summarized as follows:

1. **Financial.**—A suggestion was presented during the Annual Meeting last December (such meeting was adjourned for lack of quorum) that a Certified Public Accountant be hired to go over the financial records of this Association since its organization; this suggestion was carried into effect through the firm, DEL CALLAR

& CAMACHO, who rendered reports covering such period, portions of which may be seen in Annexes "A" and "B" hereof. Accounts and financial records have been straightened, and the result is very encouraging. This, I believe, is one of the most important accomplishments of this Association this year. Our Association is safe and sound. The report of the Treasurer will give you additional figures.

2. **Social Activities.**—A series of activities (other than routine Board meetings) consist of the following:

(a) February 8—10:00 A.M. A literary program at the GSIS Auditorium was held to commemorate the 26th Anniversary of the signing of our Constitution (Constitution Day) with Gov. Miguel Cuaderno of the Central Bank, and who was then the Chairman of the Committee on Currency and Banks of the Constitutional Convention, was the Guest Speaker. In addition to this commemorative program, conferment of plaques and certificates was made to the following: Honorary Membership to Hon. Jaime C. de Veyra and Gat Lope K. Santos; Life Membership to Mr. Michael Goldenburg, and Meritorious Service Certificate to Don Digno Alba.

(b) February 17—10:00 A.M. A literary program was staged at the University of Manila Auditorium commemorating the 89th Anniversary of the martyrdom of Fathers Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora with Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella as the Guest Speaker.

(c) April 27—10:00 A.M. A literary program was held at the Philippine Normal College Auditorium commemorating the 440th Anniversary of the Battle of Mactan (Lapu-Lapu Day) with Dr. Gregorio F. Zaide as the Guest Speaker. On the same occasion, Dr. Zaide and the First Lady, Mrs. Leonila D. Garcia, were given Certificates of Appreciation.

(d) June 17—8:00 P.M. Dinner at Manila Hotel; this was a joint affair with the Philippine National Historical Society in honor of Dr. Allen Nevins who was here as the personal representative of Pres. Kennedy for the June 19 Affair of the Jose Rizal Centennial Commission.

(e) October 17—7:30 P.M. at Winter Garden, Manila Hotel. This was an affair jointly commemorating the 54th Anniversary of the Philippine Assembly and the 45th Anniversary of the Philippine Legislature, with Associate Justice Fred Ruiz Castro of the Court of Appeals as the Guest Speaker.

(f) November 29—10:00 A.M. A literary program was held at the Auditorium of Mapua Institute of Technology jointly celebrating the 59th Anniversary of the Approval of the Malolos Constitution and the National Heroes Day with Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella as the Guest Speaker. In this program, Prof. Fabella was conferred the title "President Emeritus" of the Philippine Historical Association for having been elected President of this Association for four times.

(g) November 30—8:15 P.M. Symposium on the air (through the courtesy of Ysmael Steel Manufacturing Co.) on the "Validity of Bonifacio and Rizal within the Context of the Philippine Revolution," with the following speakers: (in the order of delivery)—Prof. Celedonio A. Ancheta, Atty. Mamerto S. Miranda, Dr. Jose Resurreccion Calip, Prof. Esteban A. de Ocampo, Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella, Prof. Leopoldo R. Serrano, Prof. Pacifico Dumandan, Sr., Prof. Carlos Quirino. These speakers, except Dr. Calip, head of the Department of History, Lyceum of the Philippines, and Prof. Serrano of the Jose Rizal Centennial Commission, are members of the Board of Governors of this Association.

(h) December 5—12:00 Noon. Luncheon at the Old Selecta in honor of the foreign delegates to the International Congress on Rizal and members of the Jose Rizal Centennial Commission.

3. **Publications.**—(a) "Rizal in Retrospect."—Inasmuch as this is the Rizal Centennial Year, it was decided that the HISTORICAL BULLETIN should come out (as it did) in one volume. Our editor, Prof. Quirino, captioned the publication as "Rizal in Retrospect."

(b) "Procedings on the International Conference." This publication will come out in a few days, not weeks. Prof. Nicolás Zafra heads the editorial staff for this publication.

Observations and Recommendations.—My association with the members of the Board of Governors, although a very brief period, has been very pleasant, cordial, intimate, and anonymous—anonymous in the sense that I do not claim any name or personal honor for the work I have done. In fact on one occasion I received this remark, "Do you have to do that?" To which, I answered, "One has to swallow his own pride for the sake of unity of the group to which he pledged to preserve." Upon my assumption to office as President, I pursued a policy of giving a wide avenue of action to those assigned to, or entrusted with, specific activity. Maximum cooperation could be achieved from one who has been given the full freedom of action for the interest and benefit of this Association. While at times direction and supervision may prove beneficial to the group, these may sometimes be interpreted as undue interference, loss of confidence, or a bureaucratic practice which may result in conflict and misunderstand. I am happy with the thought that under such policy, "all's well that ends well."

One of my first official actuations upon my assumption to office was to pay off all the pending obligations of the Association; we had then about ₱7,000.00 accounts payable. I had to go to the Office of our Treasurer for the preparation of the checks and proceeded to the creditors to deliver the payment. Do I have to do this? There is a need of such action, especially if the bills for payment have been repeatedly presented for payment. I am proud to say that there is no pending obligation that I know of, except perhaps the payment for the printing job of the "Proceedings" which is not yet due.

There is a need of centralization of the distribution of our BULLETIN. During the last few days after the release of "Rizal in Retrospect," several querries reached me, informing me that some members have not yet received the last two issues of the BULLETIN for 1960. I found it difficult to check up whether they were really not sent copies as alleged. In the future issues of our BULLETIN, this can be expeditiously checked up if a card-index for each member is kept. This card-index for membership will also facilitate check-up for our publications.

The Secretary has a tremendous job; in fact the incumbent Secretary is the live-wire of the Association, although working on borrowed time. He is not a machine; he needs personal assistance. A part-time clerk who can do multifarious activities under the direction of the Secretary will greatly relieve our Secretary much of the physical aspect of his work. Of course, this part-time clerk should also be available to any member of the Board.

The Secretary should be given additional responsibility of supervising the exchange of publications. There was a committee previously assigned for this purpose, but nothing was heard of the progress of the work.

A round-table conference should be made with the MCS Enterprises to determine the status of its relationship and of obligation with this Association.

These are the brief observations which I found with the Association during my short term as President. During the last two years, this Association has made great strides along international relations by personal and intimate contacts with foreign delegates and personages; this Association is a growing concern. We are looking forward to that day when it shall have attained an International fame.

Permit me once more to reiterate my grateful appreciation to the Association for the rare opportunity which I have been allowed to occupy this position and to the members of the Board of Governors whose whole-hearted cooperation makes all these accomplishments possible. And now I close this report with a message from Thomas Gray:

Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor.

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL BULLETIN

(Formerly *Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas*)

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